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WORKS IN PROGRESS

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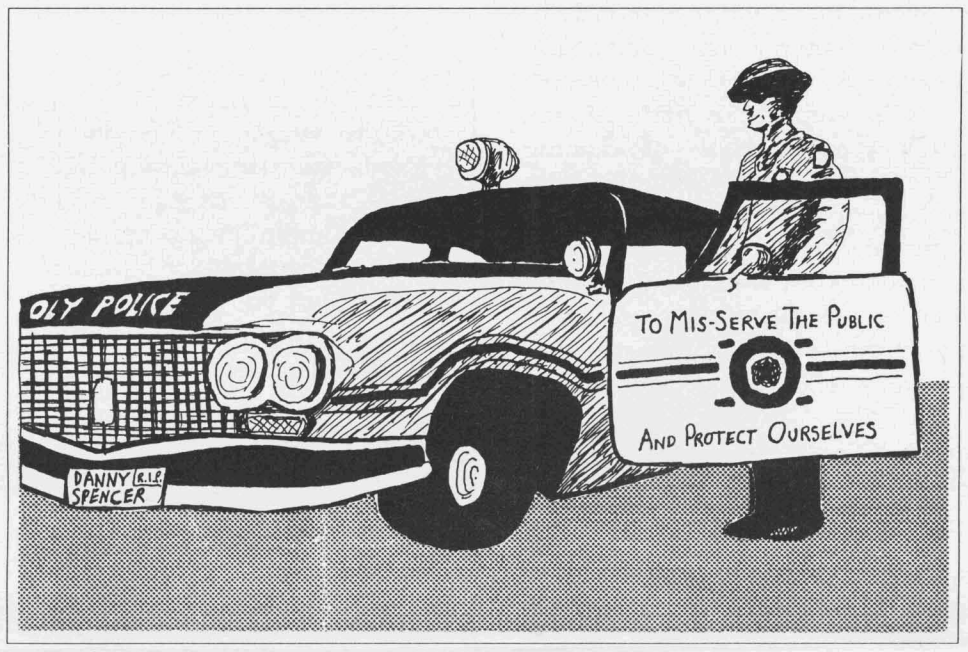
Police Business As Usual

Olympia Police Department Faces Million Dollar Lawsuit



Emma Hendrickson

Nothing about this true story is simple. At times, its implications are unsettling. There are three sets of characters: Ken Dean and the mother of his child; the police officers; and the judges and attorneys. It is a story too often told and not often heard, about the behavior of police officers and redress of their offenses.

A little over a year ago, on May 9, 1994, Ken Dean was arrested by an Olympia police officer. After ten months and four public defenders, the case against Mr. Dean was dismissed in March 1995. His million dollar civil suit against the Olympia Police Department will begin in Federal Court mid September 1995.

The story unfolds using information gathered from police reports, personal interviews, and other written documents.

Act I Officer Doughty

It starts the morning of May 9, 1994 when Ken Dean arrives at the home of Angela Martin [not her real name], the mother of his daughter. Mr. Dean tells her that he has come to take some of his personal items stored there, items that she was using and, though she does not mention it, items she thought were given to her by Mr. Dean. After collecting the items, he departs for school. As he is leaving school, he meets Ms. Martin. A disagreement ensues between them regarding the items as they leave campus in his car. A short time later, Mr. Dean stops the car and Ms. Martin gets out. The Tumwater Police give her a lift. Furious, she makes a domestic violence complaint and the Tumwater police become interested in speaking with Mr. Dean. The Tumwater police charge him later that day with domestic violence, but it is dropped when Ms. Martin recants her statement. When she arrives home later that day, she calls 911 to report her home burglarized and trashed by Ken Dean.

"it would have been in your best interest to accept the prosecutor's offer...to dismiss your case if you would hold the prosecuting attorney's office harmless from any possible civil proceedings."

Olympia police officer, Fred Doughty, responds to the call. He does not take a written statement from Ms. Martin, but writes in his incident report using facts whose sources are often missing. Doughty claims that Mr. Dean is distraught over a new boyfriend of Ms. Martin's. He makes notes on the condition of the apartment: the holes in the walls, the food strewn in the kitchen.

[Author Emma Hendrickson interviews Angela Martin.]

Emma: *What happened when Officer Doughty arrived after your 911 call?*

Angela: *After I made the call, I had time to think about what I had done and I was feeling bad about it. When Officer Doughty arrived, I went out to his car and I told him I wouldn't blame him if he just turned around and left or arrested me for making a false 911 call. I told him the call I made about Ken trashing my home was untrue and there was no burglary. I didn't want to press charges, I just wanted my stuff back.*

He comes into the house with me. He asks me what I had done in Tumwater and I told him. I also told him the 911 call was a way to get back at Kenny, to win the fight. He asks for receipts and serial numbers, and who bought the stuff. He asks this more than once. I told him that Ken bought them.

Emma: *Was Ken upset about a new boyfriend of yours?*

Angela: *There was no new boyfriend.*

In his report, Doughty claims that Martin received a call from Dean while he was there, and she, at that point, told Doughty that Dean had a gun "and he was going to kill himself." Doughty then writes that the phone call was traced to Dean's residence "with the help of CAPCOM and the telephone company." Doughty puts a call out stating that Mr. Dean is suicidal and armed. [Nine months later, in an investigation regarding Officer Doughty's actions, Doughty says he specifically "remembers listening by Ms. Martin's ear and hearing the male caller mention a 9-millimeter handgun." This was not noted in his incident report.]

Emma: *Did you hear Ken make statements that he had a gun and was threatening suicide?*

Angela: *No, when Ken called we were arguing about the things he had taken. There was nothing about suicide or anything like that.*

Emma: *Did you tell Officer Doughty that Ken Dean had a gun or was threatening to commit suicide?*

Angela: *No, I didn't. I think it was made up so he could put a trance on Ken's phone call.*

Emma: *Did Officer Doughty ever listen by your ear to the phone conversation you were having with Ken Dean?*

Angela: *Doughty did not listen in. I would have remembered that. When Ken called, I mouthed to Doughty that it was Ken. Doughty went looking around my house and taking pictures of the mess my kids made that morning. He also kept going in and out of the apartment. After a while, Ken is telling me there are cops at his place.*

I guess I was naive. I had heard so much about Chief Wurner's community policing policy, I thought that the officer would get my story, go over and get Ken's, and then we'd work it out. I didn't think anybody would go to jail.

According to Doughty's report, both Tumwater and Olympia police surround the area around Mr. Dean's apartment. Olympia Officer Brown detains Mr. Dean in the parking lot.

Doughty writes in his report that after he arrived outside Dean's residence, Mr. Dean told him he had 'trashed' Martin's apartment, put holes in her walls, but that "he never had a gun and wasn't really suicidal." Doughty does not state whether or not Dean admitted or denied taking items from Ms. Martin's residence. There was no mention of a search for the gun other than asking his two roommates if they had seen one. Doughty did write that Mr. Dean was very distraught, but there is no further mention of Mr. Dean's mental condition, his alleged suicide threats, or any mental health evaluation.

Mr. Dean is arrested for malicious mischief/domestic violence, *not burglary* and taken directly to the Olympia Police Department.

After Mr. Dean is taken away, Officer Doughty, according to Dean's roommates, goes to Dean's apartment, and says he "is going in". The roommates indicate which room belongs to Dean and Officer Doughty enters the room and tells the roommates to help carry items down to his police car. They do so.

"I think that he was offended that I was a white woman associating with a black man..."

After Doughty leaves Dean's apartment, he returns to Ms. Martin's residence and gives her the items he had taken from Dean's apartment. No documentation is made by Doughty other than to state in his report that "the VCR, microwave, and radio were in Dean's apartment...and were Ms. Martin's property." He lists no brand names, no serial numbers.

Emma: *Did Officer Doughty call you after the incident on May 9, 1994?*

Angela: *Yes, Doughty called and asked for the serial number of the microwave oven. He then said, "Ms. Martin, if you need anything, anything at all, you just call me." It made me feel real creepy.*

I think that Doughty was offended that I was a white woman associating with a black man, it offended his sense of morals.

Act II Prosecutor Creighton

Emma: *Is there anything else that I haven't asked that you think is important?*

Angela: *Yes, I discovered that the OPD had put a no contact order on Ken. I spent 6 weeks trying to get it taken off. No one would listen to me. I put in 17-18 calls to [Prosecutor] Creighton in a ten day period before he returned my call. I told him none of this stuff happened. He replied that I was obsessed with Kenny, that Ken was a very sick man and that he was going to see to it he got help! I went to court three times, talked to two judges, and had to reschedule a final before the no contact order was removed.*

On May 10, 1994, the day after Mr. Dean's arrest, Dean fills out a standard

(Continued on page 15)

LETTERS

Help Plan Second Annual Social Justice and Equality Conference

Dear Olympia Area Activists;

As you probably know, last October 8, 1994, a conference of progressive activists was held in Olympia. The conference was on "Social Justice and Equality in Olympia: Local Struggles in a Global Context". Over 120 people participated.

One of the decisions made at the meeting was to have an annual meeting of progressive forces that could build bridges between different groups, build networks, teach lessons from each other's work and do more effective work and organizing.

A lot has happened in the last year. On a very positive note, the United Farm Workers of Washington State won the right to unionize and are currently negotiating their contract. Many in the Olympia area were instrumental in that struggle.

There are, of course, many continuing and intensifying attacks especially after the last election -- on people of color, women, workers, sexual minorities, and others. There is much work to be done in the next year. That work should be as strong, efficient, and democratic as possible.

To that end, some of the activists from last year's conference are holding an organizing meeting for another (and hopefully even larger and more efficient) annual meeting to be held tentatively on Saturday, November 11, 1995. Tentative themes are "Fighting the Right -- Building Community and Political Organizing;" "Fighting Intolerance;" "2nd Annual Social Justice and Equality in Olympia: Local Struggles in a Global Context."

The planning meeting will be held on *Tuesday August 29, 1995 at 8:00* p.m. at the Timberland Library at 8th and Franklin. This 8:00 meeting will follow the 7:00 meeting of the Olympia Movement for Justice and Peace. Everyone is invited to this meeting.

Please accept this invitation to become part of the process of planning and/or send a representative from your organization if you work with a community group. If you cannot make the meeting but would like to know when the next planning meeting will be held, please call Larry Mosqueda at 866-6000 ext. 6513 and leave a message.

Several successful events happened because of last year's conference–such as community pot-lucks. Perhaps most importantly, work around the establishment of a Political/Cultural Center has continued and it may soon become a reality. As we prepare to fight the right, build community, prepare for the 1996 elections and a myriad of other activities, we will need the strength and wisdom of the members of our community. Please contribute your talents. There is much work to be done.

For background information, below is a copy of last year's sponsors and goals (these can, of course, be altered for the November 1995 conference). Also, we would like to point out that a copy of the minutes of the October 8, 1994 conference was published in the November 1994 issue of *Works in Progress*.

The Olympia area is rich in progressive groups and individuals who struggle for peace, justice, and sustainability. In order to promote better communication and coordination between these groups and individuals, a diverse group of people have called for a free and open conference.

Goals:

1) To encourage intercultural, international, and intergenerational solidarity, empowerment, and self- determination.

2) Challenge marginalization of the young, impoverished, elderly, people of color, women, and sexual minorities.

3) Challenge official sanctions; e.g. anti-panhandler ordinances, police harassment, and discrimination against youth and the impoverished.

4) To work for an Olympia that is inclusive, equal, and just.

Sponsors:

Olympia Movement for Justice and Peace, Fellowship of Reconciliation, Hands Off Washington, Media Island, Thurston County Rainbow Coalition, Bread and Roses, SPEECH, Leonard Peltier Support Committee, Labor Center at TESC, Stonewall Youth, Fair Budget Action Campaign, Mexico–Chiapas Solidarity, GUASO, SCHEMe, and others.

In solidarity for Peace and Justice,
Larry Mosqueda, Hali Panneton,
Lara Shepard-Blue, Pat Tassoni

WORKS IN PROGRESS

Mission Statement: This organization is dedicated to promoting mutual understanding among diverse cultural groups and providing a voice for peoples disenfranchised by the dominant culture. We encourage the presentation of material by those most affected by exclusionary and unfair practices. Our aim is to explore the meanings of injustice and democratic participation in our society and in relation to the emerging global transition.

Anti-Discrimination Clause: We will collectively endeavor to be sensitive and respectful to all those oppressed in this society, and their issues. However, if and when we should make a mistake in this regard, we expect to acknowledge it and to express regret for injury or insult given.

The following statement will become part of the Editorial Policy and will be the governing tool for the Anti-Discrimination Clause: *WIP will make every effort to work with the contributor of material considered by WIP to be offensive in order to reach a mutually agreed upon resolution, but WIP reserves the right as a last resort to edit or not print submitted material.*

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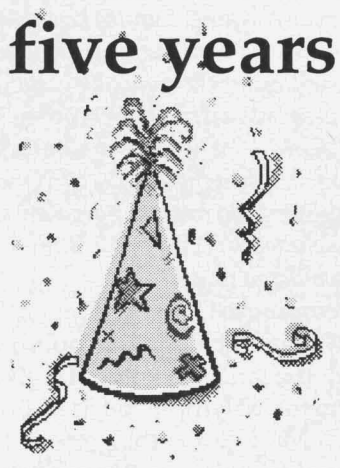
Correspondence/articles are always welcome. Articles on disk (text preferred). WIP reserves the right to publish in whole or part all submissions. For editing purposes, please enclose your phone number. Send submissions to Works In Progress, PO Box 295, Olympia, WA 98507.

Still celebrating five years on a shoe string!



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WIP Schedule

WIP article submission deadline is:

Friday, Sept 22

On that day, there will be a meeting at SPEECH (218 Fourth Ave) at 6 pm. Call 705-2726 for info.

Proofreading Meeting

Tuesday, Sept 26 at 7pm
Olympia Timberland Library

Keith McHenry
founder of Food Not Bombs

Sat., Sept. 2nd @ 6pm
Studio 321
321 Jefferson • downtown Oly
"RENT IS THEFT" **Tour:**
Housing Takeovers, Squatting, Pirate Radio, and more!
Refreshments provided by Food Not Bombs Contact #352-4134.

Labor Day Celebration

Mon., Sept. 4th • Noon-7pm
Sylvester Park• downtown Oly
• Kids activities, music, speakers, information booths, free food
Sponsored by Thurston-Lewis Labor Council. Call 446-2185 for more info

Olympia Political/ Cultural Center

Wed., Sept 6th, 7pm
Oly Timberland Library
Concentrating on timeline and the Noam Chomsky fundraising event in October.
Call 956-1771 for info.

TESC Longhouse
Grand Opening

Sept. 22nd TESC
3pm – dedication
8pm – Buffy Saint-Marie

Olympia Movement for Justice and Peace

Tuesday September 26
Oly Timberland Library
7pm Regular meeting
8pm Planning the Second Annual Olympia Social Justice and Equality Conference
Call 956-1771 for info.

Volunteer at Safeplace

Safeplace Rape Relief and Women's Shelter Services is now recruiting volunteers. Fall volunteer training begins October 10, 1995. Applications must be received by September 15th. Safeplace needs people with skills and interests in advocacy/counseling, working with children and teens, support group facilitation, community education, fundraising, clerical work, maintenance, and more. Internships are also available. For more information please call Safeplace at 786-8754, TDD available.

Food Not Bombs
serves free organic vegetarian food

Sundays 8pm Sylvester Park (downtown Oly)

Women's Clinic Picket

Thursdays 8:30 am - 3 pm
1100 Eastside Street NE

Advertising Info
⇨ Dave Campbell
at 352-6132
Inch Rate $7.50
Discounts available

Care of the Mentally Ill Changing

FRIENDS OF MENTAL HEALTH CONSUMER

Care of the mentally ill shifted from large centralized institutions to smaller urban facilities due to advances in scientific fields. About 35 years ago Congress gave a 2-million dollar grant for research in drug therapy which led to the present revolution in treatment of mentally ill individuals. This is observed most in the treatment of affective disorders that respond to the use of lithium carbonate. This medication has allowed hundreds of thousands of people to return to productive functioning.

More people are diagnosed with schizophrenia than with any other mental disorder. Data is accumulating at an accelerated rate which supports the concept that schizophrenia is a disease of the brain. Evidence from genetic, neurochemical, and neurophysiological studies appears in professional journals and in the media several times a year. Various medical scanners enable researchers to see both the structure and activity within the brain. This allows for comparison of brain activity between the brains of "normal brains and those of persons with schizophrenia.

Additional research is exploring the effects of viral infections that have long dormant stages. These types of viral infections were first identified with syphilis. It is known that some viruses live in apparently dormant stages in the body for long periods of time before illness is manifested. Researchers are trying to discover if these viruses are truly dormant or if they are slowly damaging their host. Research is trying locate a link between some mental illnesses and these types of viral infections.

Data is accumulating at an accelerated rate which supports the concept that schizophrenia is a disease of the brain.

Researchers at Yale University are exploring nutrients that modify brain function. Learning the connections between vitamins, minerals and other nutritional substances can give consumers more control over their illness through better dietary choices. Intense work is going on internationally to identify the relationship between brain chemicals and psychotic disorders.

An area of major concern for consumers, their families and professionals is the potential for tardive dyskinesia, a severe side effect from long term use of psychrotropic medications. It is irreversible and its symptoms include uncontrollable twitching, pervasive feelings of restlessness and grimaces.

Sandoz Pharmaceuticals created the medication Clozaril. Clozaril has been used for more than 20 years in Europe and has shown little or no risk for tardive dyskinesia. It does increase the risk for agranulocytosis, a disorder that affects the white blood cells and lowers the body's immune system. Clozaril has been limited in its use in the U.S. because it costs about $10, 000 annually for a person to use. In Europe this cost is about $20 annually. Public outcry followed by challenges from The National Alliance for the Mentally Ill(NAMI) lowered the cost somewhat. This was a no win gain because consumers have no option for the necessary blood tests and assessments except those provided by a Sandoz contractor.

Other industries thrive on the care and treatment of consumers. Funding generally goes to those who are the best and most powerful lobbyists. Scientific research gets little, while large portions go to bureaucracies that administer the system, to nursing homes, and to other residential care facilities. The remainder is split between public hospitals and community care programs.

Due to poor salaries and staff training the care givers are frequently not aware of the scope of knowledge needed to give quality care. Few professionals work with consumers in public facilities. High turnover rates of employees in state hospitals, residential care, group homes, nursing homes community mental health centers and other public funded facilities there is little continuity of care. Private providers free of public scrutiny, while operating primarily on public funds pick and choose among consumers often leaving the most dysfunctional and difficult without care.

Taxpayers spend over $40 billion dollars a year on a system that is frequently more beneficial to providers and special interest groups than to consumers. This is changing primarily through the efforts of consumer advocacy groups. Currently, this type of change is seen in the concept called managed care. This type of system could easily have been called cooperative care as the emphasis is on cooperation between the consumer and the care givers. In this area there is Thurston/Mason Alliance for the Mentally Ill and other groups that support consumers with specific disorders. ◆

Put the Person First

Carol Simila-Dickinson

What's in a name? Usually, there's some history and emotion — a beloved relative, an important place or symbol. Parents carefully avoid choosing names that evoke bad feelings and lead to ridicule.

Just as putting a title in front of their name tends to elevate people into a power position, using disability labels tends to demote people into a weaker position. Unless you are preparing a person for surgery or therapy, there usually is no need to refer to them by their disability. It is not a person's disabilities that gets them through the day and enables them to defy the odds, but rather their strengths.

When we glorify a person with a disability for accomplishing something ordinary, we accentuate their disability. Of course, we mean it in a very positive way. But the result is an illusion that people with disabilities are heroes instead of ordinary people with drive and interests. All people should be recognized for their accomplishments. If it comes as a shock when a person with disabilities makes the grade, it only shows how thoroughly we have become accustomed to excluding them.

In truth, before the Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA), simple tasks often did require heroic efforts because so many programs, facilities and attitudes were not at all accessible to people with disabilities. Those "heroes" had to overcome a system which was not designed nor intended for their successful participation. But since the enforcement of the civil rights of people with disabilities began, ordinary people who happen to have disabilities are able to accomplish ordinary tasks without heroics.

A couple of decades ago, a group of people with disabilities decided that they wanted to get the word out that they preferred to be thought of as people, first. They appropriately called their organization *People First*, and started a movement and a style of language usage by the same name. *People first language* is now standard. It means that if you must refer to someone by their disability, you put the *person word* first, then the disability. For example: A *girl* with spina bifida, a *boy* with cerebral palsy, a *woman* who is blind, a *man* who uses a wheelchair, a *beauty queen* who is deaf, a *writer* with a mobility impairment.

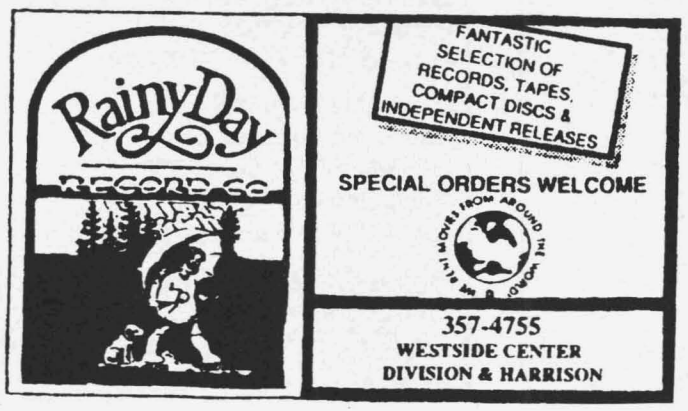
"People first language *is now standard. It means that if you must refer to someone by their disability, you put the* person word *first, then the disability. For example: A* girl *with spina bifida..."*

But remember, mentioning the disability usually is unnecessary and should be avoided whenever possible. Focus instead on their athletic ability, their musical talent, their competence, the respect they have earned as a civic-minded member of the community, the deed (good or bad) that they've done. While having a disability affects everything they do, like age, ethnicity, or gender, it is just one facet of their personality.

If you have to mention the disability, don't glorify it. Go ahead and mention the long hours that they commute by bus, the tedious work at low pay, the difficulty in obtaining needed health care services, their desire for a rewarding job close to home, their loneliness and lack of friendship.

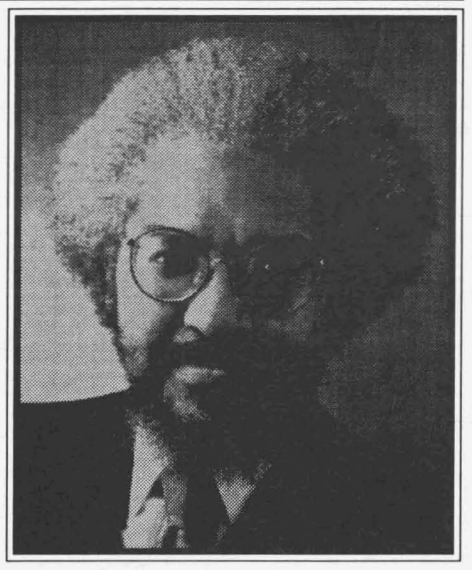
Feel free to discuss openly the humiliation of being called "retard" or spoken to in baby talk, the indignity of having to try on clothes in the hallway because the wheelchair won't fit into a dressingroom, the frustration of a person with a hearing impairment in trying to locate a phone with a TTY. The ugly flipside of the "heroism" of people with disabilities is society's *unwillingness* (we no longer can call it our *inability*) to accommodate them.

But always remember that we're people, first. Never use a label that you wouldn't want to have used on you. When in doubt, ask the person how she/he wants you to refer to her/him. Chances are, they'll say, "Use my name!" ◆



Along the Color Line

Full Employment and Affirmative Action



Dr. Manning Marable

What has escalated white America's opposition to affirmative action, race and gender-based programs which attempt to redress past and present-day patterns of discrimination? More than any other single factor, I would say that the politics of discrimination is set into motion by white male *fear*.

The recent affirmative action debate has occurred in the context where white working class and middle income people have been steadily losing ground economically. Although gains in disposable personal income, adjusted for inflation and taxes, increased at an annual rate of over 3 percent in 1994 and the beginning of this year, that increase is only due to the fact that millions of two career couples are now in the labor force. Real wages for the average household over the past decade have been either stagnant or have fallen sharply. According to economist Stephen S. Roach, in the first fifty months of the current economic recovery, about 7.8 million jobs were created. By comparison, that was almost 40 percent less than the average rate of job growth in the two previous expansions. Globalized capitalism increasingly pits workers against each other internationally, forcing down wages and fringe benefits, and creating nonunion workplaces.

A major reason why white males are as a group, by all opinion polls, most strongly opposed to affirmative action is that they perceive themselves to be particularly vulnerable in the new world (and domestic) economic order. Since the mid-1970s, the real median income for U.S. males has remained flat or has declined, while women's incomes actually rose 18 percent above the rate of inflation. Males are far less willing than women to reeducate themselves to seek new employment opportunities. According to the Census Bureau, over one million women over age 40 are currently enrolled in college, twice the number of men in post-secondary institutions. White, native-born males now represent less than one-third of the U.S. labor force. As women and minorities compete successfully for traditionally "white male jobs", white men are inclined to blame the erosion of their opportunities on affirmative action policies.

What's really at work here is the structural transformation of the U.S. economy over the past quarter century. According to economists Barry Bluestone and Bennett Harrison, between 1969 and 1976, 22.3 million jobs disappeared due to factory, office and store closings across the U.S., and through the relocation of businesses from state-to-state and outside the country. The total number of jobs destroyed represented more than one-third of all jobs which had existed in 1969. In the mid-1960s, there were 2.5 unemployed persons for every vacant job; by the late 1970s, the ratio had grown to 5.0 unemployed persons for every vacant job.

In a city like New York today, for example, there are roughly seven jobless people for every available job vacancy. In Harlem, about 40 percent of the population is below the poverty line, and nearly half of all people above age 18 are unemployed, underemployed and/or involuntarily outside the formal labor market. Competition is fierce even for low wage service employment. In Harlem's fast food industry, the ratio of job applicants to hires is about 14 to one.

Today, there are about 7.5 million Americans who are "officially" unemployed, based on Bureau of Labor Statistics. However, there are nearly five million part-time workers who want fulltime work, but cannot find it. There are also another seven million "discouraged workers", who the Bureau of Labor statistics classifies as outside the active job market. When twenty million people who desire fulltime employment aren't able to get it, an environment of political scapegoating and social hostility is created. Blacks, Latinos, women and others are blamed for declining real incomes, unemployment, and the loss of job advancement. Yet overturning the affirmative action programs and policies will do little to reverse these economic trends for white male workers.

"When twenty million people who desire fulltime employment aren't able to get it, an environment of political scapegoating and social hostility is created."

This is why the advocates of affirmative action must carefully link their struggle for social justice with efforts to achieve full employment. I say "carefully" precisely because many "neoliberals" and DNC-style, conservative Democrats want to sacrifice race-based reforms in favor of class-based programs which address economic disadvantage. Affirmative action is *not* an anti-poverty program, and it was never designed to create full employment.

But the interests of people who have traditionally experienced discrimination, and the concerns of those who are fearful of losing their jobs, *are connected*. Unless the total number of jobs is significantly increased for everybody, millions of white male workers will be inclined to perceive affirmative action as against their narrow, material interests. Left-of-center political initiatives, such as affirmative action, are always more popular when the economic pie is expanding.

Dr. Manning Marable is Professor of History and Director of the Institute for Research in African-American Studies, Columbia University, New York, New York. "Along the Color Line" appears in 300 publications and is broadcast by over 80 radio stations worldwide, including 89.3 KAOS Olympia. ◆

Update On Mumia

On August 7th, Judge Sabo granted Mumia Abu-Jamal an indefinite stay of execution; PCR (post-conviction relief) hearings are recessed until closing arguments begin in the Pennsylvania Court of Common Pleas on September 11th.

Over 200 people took to the streets in Seattle on August 12th to raise awareness of and demand a new trial.

The massive worldwide outcry that facilitated the 'stay' must continue if a new trial is to be granted to Mumia Abu-Jamal. There are many ways that you can get involved providing this much-needed political pressure:

Demand *public* support from state and local officials. Pressure the media to cover this important case. Call, write, or fax the Attorney General, Governor, and Pennsylvania Supreme Court and *demand* a new trial.

Honorable Robert N.C. Nix
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Honorable John P. Flaherty Jr.
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Governor Thomas Ridge
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Harrisburg, PA 17120
717/787-2500 • 717/783-3369

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to the ideal of excellence
not the idea of acceptability."

– *E.B. White*

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In memoriam
Hiroshima and Nagasaki

Jerome Johnson

"My God, what have we done?"
Captain Robert Lewis, USAAF
August 1945

"I saw the light. It was so different. Like lightning, only a hundred times brighter. Yellow, blue... After that, I don`t know how to explain...it was Hell. Fires. People screaming, crying, looking for their own people. In one minute it was all different."
Chieko Gavronski August 1995

"Memory is where the past and future meet... So long as such weapons exist, it is inevitable that the horrors of Hiroshima and Nagasaki will be repeated."
Takahashi Hiraoka August 1995

Dear Colette,

Hope this finds you and the gang in health and wealth. *Great* article in the journal. (How much did they pay?) I'm going to write about the bomb.

U.S. military people call it "tomorrow;" the period of human history immediately following a nuclear war. It is now fifty years after the dawn of Tomorrow—yes, I consider World War II a nuclear war—and the media is full of "anniversaries". In itself, this is good; more than 45 million people died in the most terrible war in history. It is time to remember and reflect.

Yet, I am very concerned about many people's attitude about the war and the way the Bomb was used to end the war.

"If memory is truly where the past and future meet, let's use memory to change the present for the better."

The general consensus seems to be: "Yes, dropping the Bomb was awful. But understand—there was a war on, we were tired of it. We'd just finished the war in Europe and weren't enthused about the Pacific war dragging on. Invading Japan would have meant 200,000-plus U.S. casualties, because the 'fanatic' Japanese would not have surrendered in a conventional war. Hiroshima and Nagasaki were bad, but so were Warsaw, Rotterdam, Coventery, Lidice, Hamburg and Dresden and Tokyo. That's war. We had to do it. And the Japanese deserved it because of Nanking, Pearl Harbor and Bataan. Mainstream media agree, spinning the decisions to use the bomb as unpleasant but necessary.

Those of us who oppose this callous view are being labeled as "PC revisionists" with 20/20 hindsight, liberals who don't understand that times were different then.

But my humanitarian friends point out that the civilians of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, like most Japanese, were not part of and should not influence the Imperial Staff. Like their counterparts in Europe and elsewhere, they were hostages in their own country and ruled by a small power elite. Moreover, the people of Hiroshima and Nagasaki had no way of preparing shelters or defenses against a nuclear strike. The hospitals which survived didn't know how to treat radiation and other related injuries. They certainly didn't know that unlike conventional fire bombing—which was bad enough—atomic weapons' effects would last for decades.

It's at best ironic and at worst tragic that when *The Olympian* recently ran articles on the "A-bomb", coverage focused on U.S. military veterans rather than Japanese survivors. No mention of the 110,000 innocent people locked up in U.S. concentration camps for more that three years.

"You had to be there", many U.S. WWII veterans and their families say. That was what German and Japanese officials said, too, defending themselves against war crimes charges.

Do I think the nuclear attacks on Hiroshima and Nagasaki were "crimes against humanity"? Yes. And so was the destruction of Lidice, the rape of Nanking, et cetera.

My strategist friends challenge the "necessity" of using the bomb as it was used. They point out that in the summer of 1945 Japan was in ruins, the people exhausted. They also ask two questions I`d like your feedback on:

1) If there was a "necessity" to use the bomb, why main island cities? Couldn`t "Little Boy" have first been dropped on a desolate military target (like Iwo Jima) as a warning, to stimulate the peace arrangements?

2) Were the bombings intended to intimidate the Soviet Union?

According to polls, 58% of us think that the bombings were not "morally wrong".

As I write this, I think of U.S. forces now deploying to the Middle East (Kuwait), and the tens of thousands of people—many of whom were civilizations—killed during the Gulf War.

Let's think and study and work. If memory is truly where the past and future meet, let's use memory to change the present for the better. I think that's the only we can prevent Hiroaka-san's terrible prophecy from coming true.

Love, Jerome ◆

Local 443 Primary Endorsements:

Port of Olympia Commissioner I ..... Bob Van Schoorl
Olympia City Council, Pos 2 ..... Laura Ware
Tumwater City Council ..... Ed Stanley
North Thurston School Board, Pos 1 ... Bill Williams
North Thurston School Board, Pos 5 ... Sam Hunt
Griffin School District, Pos 2 ..... Michael Welter
Olympa School District, Pos 1 ..... Edie Harding
Olympia School District, Pos 2 ..... John Keeffe

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Agenda: Take action on Local Budget

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Tenth Anniversary Organizing Campaign Wins Record Wage Raises

Strawberry Workers Rise Up

PCUN

We conceived it as the largest organizing drive in the history of Northwest agribusiness, aiming to win a crop-wide wage increase and take our struggle for collective bargaining to a new level. We named it the "Tenth Anniversary Organizing Campaign" because we would bring to bear the lessons of ten years of struggle as an organization. It took six months to plan and prepare, and lasted more than thirty straight days.

The Campaign hit the farmworker community, and the agriculture industries it sustains, like an earthquake. Two major strikes and at least a dozen other work stoppages forced growers to increase wages in the strawberry harvest — stagnant for over ten years by 2¢ to 3¢ per pound across the board. Our slogan *"Aumento Ya!"* ("Increase Now") became *"Ya Aumento!"* ("Now they've increased"). Overall, farmworkers boosted their earnings by 20% or upwards of $1,000,000. Thousands of farmworkers and hundreds of supporters directly participated in the Movement for the first time.

At this writing, the "aftershocks" continue. Farmworkers are thinking more seriously about acting on many other chronic complaints, such as hourly wages stuck at the minimum, lack of breaks, and no respect for seniority. Scrambling to stay a step or two ahead of the power which the Campaign unleashed, some growers have already raised wages in the broccoli, blueberry, zucchini, and caneberry harvests.

For this season, the "fault line" of power between growers and workers has been tangibly reconfigured. We present some of the people and describe some of the events that precipitated this shift, and we identify and analyze the forces and factors that brought it about.

Moorhouse Farms Walk-Out Sets the Pace

The 1995 strawberry harvest at Moorhouse Farms (nicknamed Diablo) lasted only one hour before the Campaign's first strike shut it down. At 6:30 AM on Friday, June 2nd, a squad of 15 PCUN organizers arrived at the field. Moorhouse was paying 13¢ per pound, the crop was poor and the workers dissatisfied. When Moorhouse refused to discuss an increase, 170 workers walked to the road, leaving about ten people — row-bosses and family of the labor contractor — to continue the picking.

At 4:00 AM on Day Two, teams of organizers, strikers, and supporters arrived at Diablo's camps, plus the Woodburn-area labor camp of Lazaro Ruiz, another labor contractor sometimes employed by Moorhouse. At each location, the contractors or their henchmen threatened to evict and fire workers who refused to scab and tried to physically intimidate PCUN organizers. At Diablo's main camp in Monitor, only ten out of seventy workers relented and boarded the waiting vans. At Lazaro's camp, just three out of eighty workers did likewise.

At 4:30 AM, Roy Moorhouse, accompanied by his ten-year old son, cruised by the picket line with a club on his pick-up seat and threatened to smash the windows of picketers' cars. Diablo's frantic efforts produced only about 20 scabs as the workday began; by the end of Day Two, 25 more scabs had been recruited and 10 strikers had crossed the line. Altogether, the Farm had less than one-third of its normal work crew.

Day Three (Sunday, June 4th), started out just like Day Two, but Diablo's and Lazaro's unrelenting pressure took a greater toll. Together, they assembled a complete crew, including many strikers. Though most came to the field under extreme duress, these workers evidenced their discontent by slowing work, taking breaks and picking overripe berries (of which there were many). Diablo got so nervous, he actually started picking!

By Monday, the strike had put Moorhouse's harvest permanently and badly behind schedule, demonstrating the Campaign's capacity to inflict serious economic loss on growers who stonewalled negotiations. And the harm didn't let up when the Campaign's main focus moved away from Moorhouse Farms that Monday. Many of Moorhouse's replacement workers left to start the harvest at their primary farms. Also, we maintained a reduced picket line from 5:00 to 8:00 each morning through June 20th, turning away dozens of "drive-in" workers (not under contractor control), cutting his workforce by a third.

Worker actions didn't end there. On June 15th, 45 workers walked out and quit when Moorhouse again refused to raise wages, this time in the second pick.

Zielinski Farms Strike Escalates Campaign

Just as the Moorhouse Farms strike wound down, workers at Glenn Zielinski Farms near Brooks were planning one of their own. On Monday June 5th at 6:00 AM, three workers arrived at PCUN headquarters to report that some 65 workers had refused to enter the field to start the harvest. Like Moorhouse, the grower refused to negotiate and the Campaign's second major strike began.

Two major strikes and at least a dozen other work stoppages forced growers to increase wages in the strawberry harvest — stagnant for over ten years by 2¢ to 3¢ per pound across the board.

Picketing workers, joined by supporters, lined a heavily traveled section of River Road for four days. Dozens of growers and hundreds of workers passed by a gauntlet of red strike flags each day. The Zielinski strike greatly magnified the Moorhouse shock wave.

After a morning of picketing, workers "bannered" on an 1-5 overpass, hanging a 50-foot long sign reading: "Zielinski: Strawberry Workers Demand a Raise", plastered a three-mile section of River Road with "Strike at Glenn Zielinski Farms" posters (Glenn personally took every one down), and picketed his home.

As at Moorhouse, the Zielinski workers' strike did not achieve a pay increase. On Day Four, Zielinski and Ramirez brought in 80 scabs and picked the ten acre field adjacent to the camp. The cannery gave him a poor grade — meaning less money — the toll of three days' delay. Spring Lake Farms picked only one more day. The picket line impacted other farms by disrupting Ramirez's labor recruiting to fulfill those contracts.

Above all, the strike inspired workers to claim respect and act on their dignity. Zielinski workers went on to organize work stoppages and win wage increases at at least two other farms. On June 17th, when he addressed 250 Oregon Public Employee Union delegates in Salem, strike leader Manuel Rivera summed up their struggle: "What we did at *Campo Benilo Juarez* [Zielinski] made possible victories at many other farms because it showed workers, that, when we unite and have support, we can defy grower power."

Scenes from Other Fields: Actions and Reactions...

While the strikes at Moorhouse and Zielinski commanded most of the attention, a variety of other actions, events, and issues shaped the Campaign's overall impact.

*** Grower Fear and Irrationality.** St. Paul grower Mike Davidson best exemplified this reaction. When dozens of workers started a "stand-up" action, his panic deepened. Expecting a strike, Davidson paid hundreds of dollars to bus in 120 extra workers the next day from North Plains, fifty miles away.

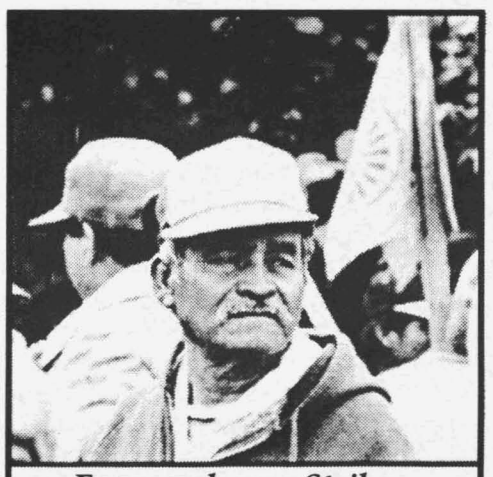
*** PCUN as a Wedge in the Workers Hands.** At no less than three farms, Kalugin (Woodburn), KG (St. Paul), and Bryant (Salem), workers won increases when they threatened to seek PCUN support. At Kalugin, the grower tried to physically block workers from leaving the field to alert PCUN organizers.

*** "Just Ask My Workers if they Want a Raise"** That's what Donald-area grower Delbert Haener invited us to do when he encountered PCUN organizers meeting with about 35 workers at his labor camp. We did and they did. Delbert looked shaken and agitated after he grudgingly agreed to the 1.5¢/pound increase the workers demanded.

*** "Official" Repression: Armed, Uniformed Security Guards.** Woodburn grower Tony Wuringer, former Chair of the Caneberry Commission, posted armed guards from a security service (cost: about $400 per day) at his labor camps to keep PCUN organizers out. He employed fewer workers than normal — only the 80 he could fit in his two labor camps. Workers had to ride his school bus to and from the fields and work twelve hour days. After about two weeks of these Gestapo tactics, the workers' anger overcame their fear. They openly invited PCUN in and organized a successful work stoppage on their own. In mid-July they organized another stoppage in the cucumber harvest.

*** Covered Weigh Scales Cheat Workers.** On about 15 farms, we found that the grower taped over the scale face at the 35-pound mark. Workers were credited with 35 pounds per two crates, no matter how many pounds

(Continued next page)



Farmworker on Strike

Scale Face Half Covered With Duct Tape

Responding to "stand up" action at Eders Farms

(Strawberry, cont)

more they might contain. Since pay is by the pound, workers lose money — probably $1,000 per day on an average farm. Growers claim that the canneries won't accept overfilled boxes, but couldn't explain to us, to workers, or to the state agricultural inspectors (who cited some growers) how covering scales was legal.

*** Influential Grower Talks Tough But...** Kiril Kutsev threatened workers who supported the Campaign with instant eviction from his labor camp, he argued with organizers in public places, he cruised the Moorhouse and Zielinski picket lines and even intimated that he'd call the immigration service (saying in broken Spanish "trabajar o a Mexico"). Though he was the last grower we imagined would negotiate with his workers, that's exactly what he did on June 14th. A two-hour strike by fifty workers in pouring rain ended with an increase and no retaliation.

*** Stand If You Support an Increase** was one of our most effective organizing caravan tactics. From the edge of the field, an organizer would use the mega-phone to report to workers on the latest actions at other farms and call for all who support an increase to stand. In field after field, the majority responded, sometimes sparking a stoppage or a walk-out.

*** The Power of Red Jackets, Flags and Buttons.** By the second week of the Campaign, it must have seemed to the growers that PCUN was everywhere. The mere sight of our red windbreakers or a *huelga* flag caused growers to shudder and scurry as workers called out "aumento". By the end of the Campaign, workers proudly sported the black and red *Aumento Ya!* buttons in the fields.

*** Grower and Contractor-Owned Housing as a Factor.** Though no one needed convincing, this Campaign illustrated more graphically than ever just how potent and coercive a force housing can be. Control over housing, together with employment and transportation, make up the essential ingredients for today's indentured servitude in the Willamette Valley.

*** Reports of a Secret Growers Meeting.** Several growers told workers that a pre-harvest grower summit had set 13¢/pound as the "going rate" for the first pick and exacted a "no negotiations with PCUN" commitment. We documented twelve farms which started above 13¢ and there certainly were more.

*** "Nothing Happened"...** The growers worked overtime to portray the 1995 strawberry harvest as normal. The Salem-based grower weekly, *The Capitol Press*, penned a lead editorial on June 23rd, attempting to re-cast the wage increases reported in *The Oregonian* as the usual, higher rates paid in the second picking.

*** ...But There Won't Be Any Strawberries to Pick Next Year.** The growers used this line repeatedly with workers but the workers just weren't buying it. One of the most common responses we heard from workers about possible loss of work was *que se pudra"* ("let it rot"). Workers' actions and comments are calling this tired grower bluff.

Reprinted from Update PCUN Northwest Treeplanters and Farmworkers United Issue #22 Oregon's Farmworker Union July 1995. ◆

Poor Working Conditions, Lows Wages and Lack of Benefits

The New Slavery in Southern Towns

Josh Remis

McComb, Mississippi. One of the Southern towns where, in the 1960s, the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) organized African-Americans to register and vote in the midst of extreme, racist violence. McComb was distinguished from other southern towns by the extent to which its racist whites were willing to go to intimidate the African-American population. African-American churches were bombed, blacks were shot and lynched. African-Americans armed themselves in self-defense (while the FBI did nothing, contrary to what you might have seen in the movies, especially *Mississippi Burning*, which is set in McComb.

National attention focused on McComb when the pattern of racist violence against the black population claimed the lives of three 'freedom riders' in the summer of '64. Why was there a national uproar when southern murders motivated by racism were a common occurrence and had, up until then, not merited headlines in northern newspapers? The answer was simple and belied the racism that infected (infects) the whole country: this time two of the three murdered civil rights workers were white.

"When I arrived there were no crosses burning in the Holiday Inn lawn where we all stayed."

So imagine my surprise when I was informed that, as part of my participation in the Organizing Institute (a program run by the AFL-CIO to bring new blood into the labor movement), I was to travel to McComb. There I would be an intern on an organizing campaign run by the United Food and Commercial Workers Union at a poultry plant named B.C. Rogers Co.

When I arrived there were no crosses burning in the Holiday Inn lawn where we all stayed. I didn't see men running around in white hoods (though I was informed by residents I met that some whites still feel the compulsion to dress in sheets and prance around the woods together). McComb seemed a relatively peaceful, integrated, small town.

My experience organizing the poultry plant made me realize that while bathrooms and drinking fountains are integrated, while African-Americans can vote without worrying about getting shot by whites, a type of slavery still exists in this country. It is no longer enforced by law but by "market forces;" it's violence does not come at the end of a whip and chain, but from the conditions of work. Repetitive work injuries, low pay, no job security, no benefits; these things combine to make this violence real and grinding. This is economic slavery, and it exists at BC Rogers poultry plant.

A family-owned business, BC Rogers poultry company has operated in McComb for the last 15 years. Except for increased output and profits, little had changed at the company in that time, including the facilities in the plant. Workers had reported terribly low wages, antiquated equipment and techniques, abuse by supervisors, and other harsh working conditions. The racial makeup of BC Rogers completed the picture: of the five hundred and fifty workers, 99% are African-American. the Rogers family and head supervisor of the plant are white. Organizers called it a "plantation inside factory walls."

My job as an intern organizer was to help house-call the entire workforce of the company. House-calling is done in union campaigns to give union organizers a chance to talk to every worker one on one. An organizer can then find out what working conditions are like for workers, and can agitate around changing those conditions and encourage the workforce to take unified action. What became clear by what the men and women I visited told me was that BC Rogers respected nothing about them, save that they were valuable for the profit derived from their underpaid labor.

I heard story after story of exploitation. For example, two weeks before we had arrived, a woman working on one of the processing lines wet herself because her supervisor would not let her go to the bathroom. Workers are allowed two bathroom breaks, each of no more that five minutes in duration, in eight or nine hours of work. If someone is in dire need of a bathroom break, management will not slow down the line speed of the processor to allow that person to go.

Injuries are common in poultry processing. Workers engage in repetitive wrist and hand motion for the full eight hours that they work, and as a result a high percentage suffer from carpal tunnel syndrome (an inflammation of nerves in the wrist which causes stiffening, pain, and paralyzation of the hand and arm). Those that contract carpal tunnel syndrome or that are otherwise injured at work, and who then are able to convince the company doctor that they are actually suffering, can expect to be "let go" with little hope for compensation. Many workers I visited showed me the scars on both arms they had received from surgery to correct carpal tunnel; these were people who were back at work, forced to perform the same routines in the same department which sent them to the hospital in the first place.

Perhaps the worst aspect of working for this company is the abuse of workers by management. Supervisors scream at workers as if they were disobedient children. The lack of a seniority system and fair promotion policy mean that if a worker wants to keep his or her job, he or she must accept such mistreatment. One supervisor has employees so intimidated that they annually pool their meager resources to buy her Christmas gifts! These have reportedly included gold jewelry, a VCR and assorted home appliances. One worker told me they had even helped her buy a car!

Given the hellish conditions endured by people working at BC Rogers, one would think that workers couldn't wait to vote to become a union. If only it were that simple.

I can't adequately explain the frustration I felt when workers told me that they couldn't afford to pay their bills because of their low wages and would then say, in the same breath, that they didn't need a union. It was a vivid illustration of the effectiveness of anti-union propaganda from the company that workers thought and even acted against their own interests.

My job, then, was obviously not to convince workers that change was needed. All of them wanted to change the horrendous condition under which they labored. My job was to explain that only by sticking together and forcing their employer to deal with them fairly would things change.

Many workers were afraid to think of standing up, and understandable so. Management at BC Rogers had had been telling workers from the beginning of the campaign that if they voted to become a union, the company would close. A blatant lie (the company was making millions at their current location and would continue to do so with or without a union), but a very effective one against workers who could barely support their families while working full time. What would they do if they had no jobs at all? This fear kept many from speaking out for a union.

There were some, however, who let nothing stop them from speaking out against the injustices perpetrated by the company. Some f these workers put their opinions into an employee newsletter that was published several weeks before the election. One man that I met, Calvin, wrote:

"I know a dude who got fired for nothin. Some employees say, "Why you worried about the next man, why don't you worry about yourself?" The way I see it you gotta be concerned about the next man, 'cause if they do it to him they sure enough gonna do it to you. We all employees, we all should stick together. It's the only way it's gonna be accomplished.

"You can be the best worker there, run all the machines, and your ass will get fired for nothin. Some think they won't lose their job, but there ain't no guarantee, it's that simple. In today, gone tomorrow.

"To have some security. You been on the job six or twelve years and you still ain't got nothin, you know what I'm sayin?

"How can you find yourself a better job when you can't pay your bills, when you don't have any money? You got to have money to do better. I don't see how folks are making it.

"The reason I want a union is because: Number one would be the pay rate, better insurance, job security (so they just can't fire you for no reason at all.)

"People at BC Rogers, they just workin paycheck to paycheck. You get paid on Thursday, you broke on Friday. I just want to do better, I really do. I'm tired of havin no money. We need a big-ass change at BC Rogers.

Calvin told me how his head is all "fucked up" because he is always trying to figure out a way to do better for his family, but what can he do? He works forty hours a week or more at the plant and after paying his bills he has nothing left over (if he was able to pay his bills at all.) He can't then save money to take time off work to look for a better job (which, in truth, would be very difficult to find in McComb.) He thinks about it all day at work, he thinks about it when he gets home. He wonders why he should work at all if working as hard as he can isn't enough.

What Calvin said made me think of the conservative line about poverty: that the poor of this country just need to stop being lazy and they can pull

(Continued page 10)

Interview From the Gaza Strip –

This Is Peace?

Craig Hymson

Recent weeks have seen an exceleration in the violence within Israel and the Occupied Palestinean Territories. Although, the Israeli Government and the P.L.O are entering the next phase of the peace process, removal of the Israeli settlements from Palestinean land is still not on the agenda.

In the fall of 1994 as a member of a fact finding delegation for the U.S. Inter-Religious Committee for Peace In the Middle East, I met Dr. Eyad El-Serraj, Director of the Gaza Community Mental Health Project. I was struck by his openness, sincerity and frank appraisal of the Israeli-Palestinian peace accords and the challenges his society faces. After this initial encounter, I was anxious to record and share his thoughts, shaped by his daily interactions with those who suffer from the effects of the continuing Israeli Occupation. The following is our interview conducted on 12-21-94 in Gaza City Gaza.

***CH:** Please talk a bit about the change in the emotional and psychological climate in Gaza , since the signing of the Declaration of Principals in September of 1993.*

ES: Initially the people welcomed the peace summit in Madrid and then the Oslo Accords. People were excited about the idea and the prospect that there would be freedom and liberation, and a Palestinian state. But now people are growing more and more disillusioned and disappointed, for different reasons. One, is that the economic benefits that were promised have not materialized. This is very important for people, especially the unemployed and the poor, who represent the majority of the population.

Second, people more and more realize how restrictive the peace treaty is. Gazans are still not free to travel out of Gaza, to work or see family, without special permission, special papers. Even if such papers are secured , the border is so often closed nowadays that all of the effort extended in getting permission from the Israeli authorities is wasted. The settlements still stand, and some are being expanded. And there are still Israeli soldiers occupying Palestinian land. This is peace?

***CH:** How is Chairman Arafat regarded by Gazans?*

ES: Yassar Arafat is seen now as a hostage, like the rest of us. Gaza is like a big prison. Israel is surrounding it and now that Arafat is here, he is like us: a prisoner. Nothing more. He has lost his prestige and standing. Yassir Arafat has somehow become dwarfed by the peace process. He was like a giant for the Palestinians. Now he is just a very small figure. He is not seen really, like many Arab leaders are not seen as real players in the game. The real players are Rabin and Clinton and Christopher. And he is seen as a beggar. He does not transmit a feeling of dignity for the Palestinians.

Apart from that, people expected to have too much too soon. And because nothing has happened they are disappointed. Also, people started to hear about the corruption in the Palestinian Authority.

***CH:** What sort of corruption?*

ES: Improper business deals of Ministers. Money making. And of course all of the feelings of hope that we were going to have a fair and just Authority that treats people equally and according to the law really disappeared. People have started to hear about appointments of people to high positions, that are so chaotic. Appointments not based on the basis of professionalism and experience. They are on the basis of partisan politics. Most of the people appointed are Fatah{the dominant faction of the P.L.O. which Arafat heads},all personally attached to Yasar Arafat. So again, people are disappointed.

***CH:** So there is not a feeling amongst Gazans that this is a very democratic Authority?*

ES: No. And this is also very important. Also important is that the People are starting to feel the extent of the repression. From the day that man was killed in the prison in the hands of Palestinian interrogators, to the Authority police killing Palestinians in the mosque, to the presence of the security forces everywhere, especially the civilian clothed ones, ...people feel intimidated by all of these signs of power that the Authority is showing. They are by the way insecure, and trying to show their strength. Gradually people who initially identified with the Authority and the police force, have started to feel the separation with them. Now people are very cool if not antagonistic to the Authority.

***CH:** Do you know of cases of civil rights violations by the Authority against Palestinians.*

ES: Yes. I had a record in front of me today, of one of my clients who was abused.

***CH:** Is the abuse by the Authority widespread?*

ES: No it is not widespread yet. It is not to the same extent that the Israelis use daily beatings, mass punishment , collective curfews , night raids and all of this. But during the time when the Palestinian Authority was trying to arrest people from Hamas and Islamic Jihad, they did what the Israelis used to do. They broke into the homes and took the people.

***CH:** Do you mean the period after the kidnapping of Nachshon Waxman?*{An Israeli soldier who was kidnapped and subsequently, killed during a failed Israeli rescue attempt]

ES: That is right. The Authority mistreated people.

***CH:** Have any formal charges been filed against the Authority?*

ES: The people who went to prison didn't testify to any mistreatment.

***CH:** Because they were afraid to speak or because they didn't recognize those actions as mistreatment?*

ES: I don't know to be honest with you. But in the beginning many people were detained without any court order and without any real investigation. And I heard lately that the people suspended for killing that Palestinian inside the prison during interrogation , are back to work now. It is a very chaotic situation. And you don't know where to go. They have arrested one of our employees. And if you want to follow a system, you dont know where to go get the truth, how you can find out what happened. It was only through my personal contacts, (you have to rely on personal contacts now not a system),that I was able to find him. I called the head of the Intelligence, because he was my classmate, and told him I had to see this man. If it wasn't me, nobody would have seen him. This is very sad.

***CH:** One of the reasons for the strong police presence and the crackdown on Hamas and Islamic Jihad is the pressure Israel is putting on Arafat to maintain security and order. This the reason given for not moving into the next phase of the Agreement, pulling out of the territories, because things are not secure yet. How are Palestinians responding to this?*

ES: This is the dilemma you see for the Palestinian. On one hand we feel that Hamas is being played against the peace process by the Israelis, as you said by stalling by claiming "security reasons". But at the same time you feel that the Israelis will never leave the Gaza and West Bank settlements without resistance. So what should we do, resist or just sit down and be quiet and show good will so the Israelis will willingly leave? Our past experience is so bitter, and so bad with the Israelis. Every time there is some quietness, they expand the settlements. This is the situation. On the one hand I want peace to prevail. I want people not to kill each other any more, that's enough of what we have seen. I want the Israelis and the Palestinians to live. But at the same time I don't want these settlements here! So I am personally in a dilemma. Do I support Hamas when they attack the settlements and the Army? And by the way I completely condemn the attacks against civilians. Or do we just show the Israelis our good will to the maximum and hope they will leave, knowing from the past experience that they will not leave?

On the one hand I want peace to prevail. I want people not to kill each other any more... But at the same time I don't want these settlements here! So I am personally in a dilemma. Do I support Hamas when they attack the settlements and the Army?... Or do we just show the Israelis our good will to the maximum and hope they will leave?

***CH:** Are you noticing an increase in support for Hamas and Islamic Jihad and other radical political Islamic groups now?*

ES: Oh yes. I'll show you a piece of research we did with children. We did a piece on 450 children throughout the Gaza Strip between the ages of eleven and fifteen. We found that 57% of them support Hamas. This is an increase. And other collegues of mine did research on young adults. And they found that in the age group of 20 years old, more people supported Hamas than Fatah. Now it seems that the younger you are the more radicalized you are. We also found that the impact of trauma is an important factor. The more traumatized you are, the more radical in your views you are.

***CH:** What makes a young physically healthy person, strap explosives to his body, ride up to a checkpoint and blow himself and several Israeli soldiers up? {A few weeks prior to the interview, a Hamas suicide bomber, did this at the checkpoint in front of Netzarim, a Jewish settlement in Gaza} What motivates him, feelings of hope or desperation?*

ES: Well it is a curious point you know. It is a curious point. I think there are a few things to consider in answering your question. Of course there are individual variations between people, but there are some general factors. One is the question of identity. The question of identity is very important and is the heart of the problem. The personal and collective identity of the people. The Palestinian people, Arab people, are generally threatened by the western colonialist culture. They are continually on the defensive. All of these attacks represent a defensive action against a threat to my identity. Now the identity was formulated in the first half of the century in terms of nationalism. Palestinian , Arab Nationalism. But that has failed to provide any victory. So now Islam becomes the vehicle for identity.

Second, the Islamic groups, generally, are more disciplined than the other groups. They are disciplined in the sense that they keep certain boundaries between them and the rest of the world. Between themselves and the community. This allows for cohesion and strength within the group. To the extent that you as an individual become nothing for the sake of the group. As a person within these groups you find yourself, you find your identity.

***CH:** Why is the sacrifice of individual identity for group identity more appealing?*

ES: Because it gives hope, you see. Out of personal despair, people find hope and fulfillment within the group. When the group identity becomes so strong , and you are part of it, it gives you a sense of belonging. And you are willing to give, to make the sacrifice, as a payoff, to the group that gives you so much.

***CH:** The ultimate sacrifice.*

ES: Yes. But through this ultimate sacrifice, through death you in fact conquer fear of death. Because death is only the open gate to paradise and an end to suffering. This is the promise of the group, the promise of the identity of Islam. When you die you go to heaven. Moving from that level of despair, to conquering death is a powerful thing to achieve. Despair is at the root of all of this. Power is found in the transformation.

Another important element is control. Helpless people are seeking control and being controlled. Control over self can be received through the teaching and the practice within the group. Control over death is through dying. The Ultimate! You choosing your time to die. You control life and death.

***CH:** Your death or the deaths of others?*

ES: Yes, your death and the deaths of others. And according to this way of thinking, as long as the others are Jews, it is not a problem. As long as you believe what you are doing is sanctioned by God. To some extent you can compare it to the cult mentality you have in the West. This is not unique to us by the way. Religious fundamentalist movements are re-emerging everywhere. This is because of modernism, because of individualism, because of the breakdown of tradition and family. People are not only nostalgic for this, they want to have their identity, their group identity back. This is expressed by membership within a group.

***CH:** Do you see that as a healthy or unhealthy expression?*

ES: Well it could be healthy as long as you don't develop the cult mentality. That is what is dangerous. It is not unhealthy as long as there is debate between you and your community about it. But if you become so isolated, and attached to a small group of people, you become paranoid against the rest of the world. That is dangerous!

***CH:** What are some of the factors now that are contributing to this root feeling of despair you mentioned?*

ES: The peace process didn't give the Palestinians the sense of integrity and identity they were hoping for. So

far it has been dictated by the Israelis. So it can be seen by the Palestinians as a sign of defeat, Another helpless act by the P.L.O., who in fact admitted that they have no other option. It is perceived as a surrender. This is dangerous because it brings people into a deep level of despair. And from that kind of environment, you have to expect a new kind of psychology that is defiant, that is violent, in an attempt to address this threat to identity.

CH: Do you think this peace agreement is hopeless.

ES: No. I think it can be a beginning, a very small beginning if we can build on it. Because you have to understand also the Israeli point of view, I do understand the Israeli point of view. It is very important if you want to make peace to understand both sides. I understand the Israelis are obsessed with the question of security. This is because they are victims themselves.

CH: Do you mean victims historically or today?

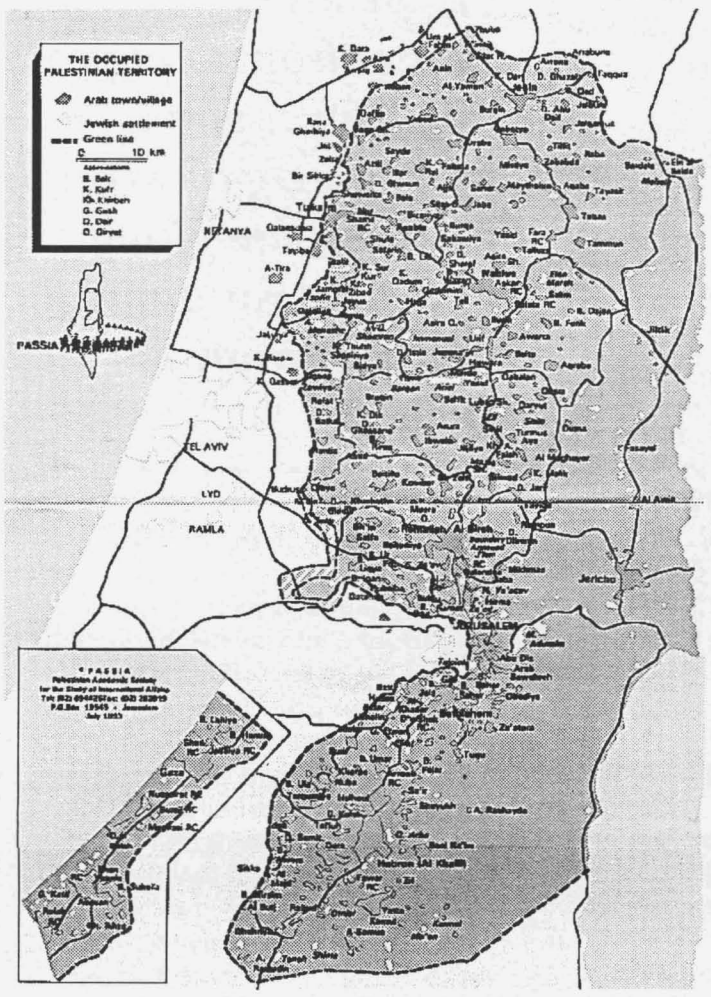
ES: Today and yesterday. They have a long, long history of persecution. They are surrounded here by an ocean of hatred and have cultivated this mentality of paranoia against the rest of the world. They have a cult mentality in Israel. A cult mentality that is fueled by fear. They have developed this over the years, because of the victimization. It is a complex psychology of course, very complex.

CH: What can be done to ease the Israeli feelings of fear and paranoia, while not threatening or surpressing Palestinian expression of identity and self determination?

ES: You need imaginative and strong leadership on both sides to take decisive action. The people will follow as long as they feel that this leadership is keen on the protection of the people and their interests and that there is hope at the end of the tunnel...something to look forward too. The Israelis want to live in peace, fine. I don't think the Israelis are not ready to sacrifice the settlements for the sake of peace. They are ready, but they need leadership that can tell them very plainly and painfully, "Look we cannot have peace with settlements! We can have peace without them!" You know the minute the Israelis would say this, the Palestinian masses, if not the leadership, would respond by circling Hamas and putting them in jail, if they continued the violence. We would say, "We don't want you anymore! You are completely against us." Then my dilemma: do I support Hamas because they are attacking the settlements or not, would be solved. Then I will have no option but to tell Hamas: "Listen! No more war, no more violence, we want to live in peace. We have the West Bank and Gaza, we have to settle on that. And that is it. We need a strong leadership on both sides, but basically on the Israeli side, because the Israelis are the ones who have the power now. They have the land, they have the army, they have, the money, they have everything. So they have to take decisive action. Look at the question of Syria. The Golan Heights are occupied. Syria is insisting on the land back. If you want to have full Peace you have to have full land.

CH: But with both issues, the settlements, and especially with the Golan, Israelis aren't convinced that when they pull out there will be peace and security. There is a lack of trust. That seems to be the question. How do you bridge that gap in trust between the Israelis and Palestinians?

ES: I'll tell you. Israel wants security. I don't believe the whole population is interested in the question of the settlements. I believe the Israeli public wants peace. They don't want these settlements, As long as they have these, they will bring friction and war all of the time. They don't want that. You give the Palestinians the West Bank and Gaza and start now negotiating on the final stage. This interim deal now is a waste of time and energy and does not really help. Try now to talk about the final stage of the settlement. Give the recipe, or the prescription to the Israeli and Palestinians living there, painfully. Painfully! We have to compromise on the question of Jerusalem. We have to compromise on the question of land. We have to compromise on the question of refugees. We have to compromise on the question of security. We have to compromise on these issues if we want to live in peace! Now, then we will join forces together with no dilemma at all against the forces of war. Then I would not protect an Islamic revolutionary or guerrilla at all. No. Because he will be working against me. You see what I mean? That will bridge the gap between the two sides.



CH: By creating a situation where militant Islamic fundamentalists are seen as working against the interests of Palestinian society at large?

ES: You create a situation for the Palestinians in which they will have no option but to work for peace. But it is only when the Israelis bring me, with full dignity, not force me, bring me with full dignity to work for peace, that I will work for peace. But now they are dragging me, they are humiliating me in the process. So I am very skeptical and very reluctant. And this is why part of me is supporting Hamas. Part of me is not supporting them.

CH: Have you noticed the released prisoners, from Hamas, becoming active again?

ES: Well most of the political prisoners who have been released have been were Fatah. And to begin with they were shunned by Yasar Arafat. He didn't want to use them he didn't want to work with them. And he had two meetings with them in which he told them so and he acted so. But after incidents with Hamas he used Fatah. He wanted them to be with him so he will have power to confront Hamas with.

The point I want to make is that generally the people who come out of prison are bitter, disillusioned and disappointed. Because they lost their role. They lost the hero image. And at the same time there is no compensation. Apart from a small faction of Fatah now, that are being rewarded by the Authority, the rest are not being rewarded. They have come out after many years in prison; uneducated, they have to look for education and rehabilitation. Because of that we have marital problems, we have family problems. This problem is so bad and so common. But I haven't seen anybody who has come out of prison and become again a fighter. But you bring new generations all of the time. These extremist radical children will themselves become terrorists in the future. Our society faces many challenges.

CH: Speaking of challenges facing Palestinian society, it is written in the Public Philosophy and Strategy section of the Gaza Community Mental Health Project brochure that "the taboos such as the abuse of women and children "should be challenged and exposed." Would you talk about the Women's program that exists here at the center, and what you are doing to challenge and expose these taboos.

ES: Well we have started with ten women now. Our staff, of men and women, teaches them about mental health, legal rights, their rights. Some of them have been tortured by Israeli soldiers some are abused by their husbands. We also provide them with vocational training so they can become independent. They create pieces of art and crafts.

CH: You mean you use art as therapy?

ES: Art as therapy and for production and sale. The work is very good, there is a tremendous amount of talent to be tapped into. It is important for the women to have a source of income, not to rely solely on the men.

CH: And what are you hoping will come about with your work with these women?

ES: Well this is only a pilot project but I hope that these ten women will become leaders in their own community. And they will begin a process similar to what they have been through here.

CH: What can they do specifically to fight the abuse in the home? It is not so easy to leave is it?

ES: It is very difficult for these women to leave. One of the major problems here is our understanding of women... and of ourselves as men too.

For instance, just to give you one very serious example: we link Man's honor to the woman's vagina. If anything happens to a women who is close to me, it violates me. Lose my own feelings of dignity and pride. And that is terrible because it makes the man always jealous, always insecure, always obsessed with what the woman is doing. Not only your wife, your sister, your aunt, your cousin...you are very concerned with everybody . And second, it makes the women like captives, all of the time. Spied on all the time. When a woman , for instance, is separated from her husband because he is away or in prison or something, his family takes over. And they are over-protective of her to the extent of suffocation and oppression. She is not allowed to leave the house, she is not allowed to do this, she is not allowed to do that. And that brings tension. Now, if she breaks away and gets out she can be killed in the name of the honor of the family. If she goes to her family, her family most probably will send her back. They will say that her responsibility is with her children and with her husband. She has to be faithful to him and be with his family. And so she has no choice. Recently, however there has been a change. Now that we have no Israelis to fight, we are starting to look inside ourselves, inside our community. In fact, the rate of divorce is increasing. In fact, of the ten women we have been training, four of them have started their divorce proceedings. They feel strong enough now to ask for it. It is not that we encourage divorce, but it is significant that women feel strong enough now to seek it when necessary.

CH: It is interesting to me that you said, that without Israelis to fight women's rights are coming into the foreground. I had been under the impression that during the Intifada, women had the opportunity to step into the foreground, because the men were away, either in jail or fighting, so women had more of an opportunity to participate. Also, because men are coming back, and expecting things to be how they were before they had left. I heard that things were better off for women before.

ES: No. I think that in the beginning women went out into the streets to defend themselves against all kinds of authority. Israeli authority and Men's authority. But immediately they were brought back into the home in the name of God, in the name of religion in the name of discipline, in the name of the family honor. Men felt so threatened that they had to use religion and discipline to bring back the women into the house. And they were abused and they were oppressed. I am speaking generally now. I mean a few women here and a few women there do not count for a women's movement. The situation now is continuing. This is a process of the changing of generations really. I mean if you want to have dramatic change you have to have women who are educated, women who are in the work place, financially independent, women who have a dialogue with men. Because I don't want to see our society go into the individualism and the materialism of the west and break down the family. I don't want to see that. I want to see a dialogue between women and men. To formulate the society, the ideas and principals of the society in a way that can take us to the next century...close together but not suffocating each other. Not oppressing each other.

CH: But didn't the Intifada politicize women?

ES: It did, it did. It politicized everybody. Everybody was touched by them. But they could not fight the battle because there was a common enemy. All our resources had to fight the enemy. Now that it is possible we won't have that common enemy, we are starting to look around now within our own community for our problems. Women's problems, children's problems, education, health, infrastructure, refugees. Now people are starting to address these challenges.

CH: In closing Dr. Sarraj is there anything you would like to add?

ES: Yes. If some people are interested in working with us as volunteers, we would welcome them. If people from America would like to spend some time studying , learning and helping us in our work we would be very grateful. We have in the last few years provided housing and a small amount of money for food for volunteers.

People interested in volunteering should contact WIP for more info. Craig, an Evergreen student, volunteers with Food Not Bombs. ◆

(Mississippi, cont.)

themselves up by their boot-straps to middle class comfort. Calvin and the other people who labor at BC Rogers are some of the hardest working people I have ever met in my life, and what do they have to show for it? The Rogers family, and all the employers like them, make millions using up the time, energy and health of their workers. Workers who are then left with nothing to show for their labor but injured limbs, tired feet, and bills they can't pay.

For three weeks the organizers and interns house-called the employees, put out newsletters, hand-billed at the plant, and engaged in other activities geared toward winning the election scheduled for August 11th.

Meanwhile, the company did its best to paint the organizers as moneygrubbing, rich outsiders who really had no interest in the well being of the workers. They put a trailer on the company grounds and held captive-audience meetings (workers were required to attend) in which company lawyers bad-mouthed the union. This propaganda largely fell on deaf ears; workers had a hard time taking the company seriously when it accused the organizers of misconduct. The workers aren't stupid, they knew it was the company who had been mistreating them for so long, and for the company to suddenly start acting concerned about their welfare was too much for some.

What was more effective was when the company claimed that people would lose their jobs if they voted to unionize. At one point the company put up Spanish language signs on the doors and machines to make the workers think they would be replaced by immigrant labor.

Despite 'inoculating" the workers as best we could against the anti-union propaganda, the fear overcame the desire to change for too many; yesterday, I got a call from a fellow intern who stayed in McComb through the election. They lost by fifteen votes.

The union lawyers were going to challenge some o the ballots — more than fifteen of the votes were case by supervisors, who by law are not allowed to vote. The challenge will likely take months to resolve in court.

Meanwhile, people working at BC Rogers poultry processing will go back to work without a union. They will continue to work for pittance wages, to be injured on the job, and without any kind of employment security. My hope is that those that voted no because they were afraid of losing their jobs will see that the company offers no such security — especially as they get fired for small infractions (like being in the bathroom too long.) Perhaps in several months or years, if this election is not overturned, workers will be ready to join together to change the conditions of work at BC Rogers.

Tomorrow morning I leave for Gastonia, North Carolina to continue with the Organizing Institute program. There I will have a chance to help organize christmas-tree ornament makers. The campaign ends in three months, so until then — power to the people!!

If anyone is interested in more information about the Organizing Institute, call their headquarters in Washington DC at (202) 408-0700.

Josh Remis has been a part of the Olympia community for a number of years. He has been active with the Olympia Farmworkers' Justice Committee and the Olympia Movement for Justice and Peace. He hosted a radio show on KAOS and has written for WIP in the past. ◆

Report from Vermont

The People's Conference for Economic Democracy

Ron Jacobs

Burlington, VT. -- July 28, the second day of the fourth heat wave to hit New England the summer of '95 and the first day of the National Governor's Association national conference in Burlington, Vermont. Governor Howard Dean, a lukewarm Democrat who chaired the conference this year, had been trying for weeks to put the state's best non-controversial image forward. Unfortunately for Dean and his cronies, however, large numbers of Vermonters had other ideas.

At a planning meeting in late May, several Vermont activists put out a call for a People's Conference for Economic Democracy to take place in Burlington during the governors' shindig. The theme of this conference was simple: oppose the Contract On America. After the first call went out over the internet and other more time-tested means, folks and groups from around the country lent their support. While national support coalesced, Vermont's left movement came to life. The Progressive Coalition-led government of Burlington lent their backing (although they did not allow camping permits to be issued for the city's parks), and a myriad of other organizations and non-aligned individuals began the hard work required to organize such an event.

In the weeks prior to the NGA meeting, the Burlington mayor, Peter Clavelle, and Governor Dean traded barbs over the timing of the People's Conference. Dean would have preferred that it not happen and, if it did, it happen while the governors were not in town. Of course, to hold the protest any other time was pretty pointless.

Sometime in July, as plans for the People's Conference were finalized, and in the wake of hearings in Philadelphia concerning the fate of Black writer and activist Mumia Abu Jamal, Jamal's supporters gave their support to the People's Conference and planned other actions as well against Pennsylvania's Governor Ridge during his visit to Vermont.

So the stage was set.

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I walked the block or so from my house to Battery Park the morning of July 29, 1995. By the time I arrived several hundred folks were listening to speakers addressing issues surrounding the Contract, checking out literature from dozens of groups whose tables lined the paths in the treeless park. From various unions in New Jersey to Vets for Peace and the Bread and Puppet theatre troupe folks on their converted schoolbus, America's people were well represented.

Around noon, after a speech by Panther member Safiya Bukhari of the New York Coalition to Save Mumia Abu Jamal and a rousing performance by the Jeh Kulu drummers and dancers, we lined up for the march. Once we were somewhat organized, the mammoth cigar smoking cat puppets of Bread and Puppet representing corporate fatcats with top hats made from the Stars and Bars, and a tractor pulled haywagon (from a group of farmers) led us out of the park, and into my neighborhood, the Old North End of Burlington -- a working class hood if there ever was one. With onlookers of all ages and from many different cultures cheering us on and asking for literature, we slowly walked the hot pavement some two to three thousand strong.

From there we turned into downtown Burlington, the centerpiece of which is the Church Street marketplace, a pedestrian mall full of trendy boutiques, local stores, and people. Tourists, locals, students, and street people all gather in this town common. Chanting "Hey, Hey, Ho, Ho, the Contract has got to go", we walked down the brick paved mall. After that, our next stop was the Radisson Hotel, an upscale hotel which was full of cops, governors, and lobbyists. (According to the local daily, there were over 2000 corporate lobbyists registered for the NGA conference -- for 41 governors.)

It was at the Radisson that the supporters of Mumia took the stage. Surging away from the main march and into the valet driveway towards the hotel lobby doors, the 500 or so demonstrators quickly drew a reaction from a dozen plainclothes cops who had been masquerading as demonstrators up to this time. Although these plainclothes cops pushed and shoved, they failed to stop the surge of protestors and were replaced by several Burlington cops who linked arms around the lobby doors while their ears rang with chants of "Free Mumia Now!" Several minutes later, the demonstrators filtered away, some back to the rally in Battery Park and others to a Key Bank office building where Gov. Ridge of Pennsylvania and several other governors were supposedly meeting.

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Back in Battery Park, the mercury continued to rise. Among announcements urging people to drink plenty of water, several more speakers and performers took their turns lambasting the contract, its corporate sponsors, and the Democratic party bootlickers who pretend to be for the people while taking money from the same PACs as Newt, Dick Armey, and their gang of crooks.

"If we are to prevent this country and planet from being ravaged by the wealthy... young, poor (working and not working), gay, straight, people of all cultures, are going to have to get together and fight for our right to live in a world where corporate greed does not define reality." ***US Representative Bernie Sanders***

For many in the crowd (not me, necessarily), the highlight of the afternoon was the speech by Bernie Sanders. In one of his more strident speeches that I've heard since moving to Vermont almost three years ago, Bernie attacked the class warfare being waged by the rich on the rest of the United States. Stating that working people in this country have not been under such an attack in over 70 years, he called for action from the citizens. If we are to prevent this country and planet from being ravaged by the wealthy few for their bank accounts, continued Sanders, the young, the poor (working and not working), the gay, the straight, people of all cultures, are going to have to get together and fight for our right to live in a world where corporate greed does not define reality. Bernie and the politicians who spoke on Saturday believe voting is the way to do this. Most of the rest of the speakers and protestors thought more is required.

Time will tell.....

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"The Ghettoization of Downtown Olympia? " – *The Olympian,* August 19th

The City Plays Dirty with LIHI

Letitia Flynt and Greg Hohnholt

Well, the August 19th *Olympian* certainly put an interesting face on the whole Fleetwood, Federal Building, and Dispute Resolution Brouhaha. Mayor Bob Jacobs has been stating that LIHI has used the Federal Building as "blackmail" against the city council. Now we read in the *Olympian* that, "We can support the Fleetwood Building if and only if the Federal Building goes away," states Steve Hall for the city. (Of course, there is nothing akin to blackmail in that statement coming from the city.)

Has the county ever turned away funds on a project like this? NO! Has the City ever refused to give a CHAS letter before? No! How many developers do they try to derail? *NONE!*

The city's stalling over an issues like the Federal building has created a no win situation. The fight is getting dirtier with the city now saying that unless LIHI gives back the Federal Building, they will recommend against LIHI receiving the necessary tax credits. In addition Mayor Jacobs and some or all of the City Council not only (1) want LIHI to do without the $450, 000 in state Community Development Block Grant money (CDBG), (2) to lose the $1.2 million in tax credits, (3) to give back the Federal Building, (4) and once they get the Fleetwood off the ground, they want LIHI to get out of town and give the building to a local agency. What?? WHY??

The wholesale arrogance and presumption in these demands begs rebuttal. It demands that we, as a community, demand clarity and justification of those who have refused to provide housing to the homeless and working poor. What follows is a demand for justice over city hall's swaggering pride, a demand that Jacobs and the city council face up to a truth they have refused to humble themselves to for the past three years.

How do YOU define "low income housing"?

The bottom line is this: little or none of $3 million in CDBG money that Mayor Jacobs keep reminding us *has* been spent on housing is going to the most needy segment of the population; i.e. those living at or below 50 and 60% of the medium income level. There are several thousand people living at this level in Olympia *alone,* without even looking at the county (which, unlike Olympia, must compete statewide for CDBG money).

This means that those on fixed incomes, the working poor, and the displaced got little help from these $$$ to put a roof over their heads. They got a limited number of shelter beds but not affordable housing. There was, however, ***no*** shortage of housing for people in the 70-90% median income range Yet, *that is where the housing money went.*

Therefore, if, as Hall states, that "At the core of the city's concern is a growing amount of subsidized low-income housing in the downtown area," we must ask: what are the city council members doing to bring more up-scale housing into the downtown core? Do upper-income folks want to live in downtown Olympia, rather than out by the golf courses, local lakes, or a scenic vista with a nice-sized piece of property? Where are these upper income people that want to live in downtown Olympia? What is the city doing to encouraging developers to build high income units downtown?

Conclusion? Hall's "concern" is a bogus red herring, a purely political ploy to use the Federal building as a means to keep LIHI in a defensive posture.

The Federal building "blackmail" issue

The city should own up to another fact that it discreetly forgets when tossing around accusations of blackmail: if the local homeless, (with LIHI's help) had not won the Federal building, the odds are very good that the city/county would be continuing as usual; with only promises, costly surveys, and time consuming task forces.

Remember when the city said,"If LIHI is willing to forgo housing in the Federal Building, the city will agree to issue a CHAS letter on the Fleetwood building."? A highly conditional and gutless letter of support it was, too, and we are forced to ask why this was so. That question aside, recall, too, that *the city showed the Fleetwood building to LIHI in the first place;* just to get them away from the Federal Building, apparently. Still, the city wrings it hair out over this CHAS letter, and dreams of it being magically rescinded. You might get the impression that the city had no intention whatsoever of providing housing for genuine low income people *anywhere.*

Nevertheless, LIHI tried to meet the city halfway by agreeing not to put housing in the Federal Building if the Fleetwood building could be *fully funded* first. To this day, LIHI is still willing to sit down with the city and write up a **binding agreement** not to develop housing at the Federal Building if the Fleetwood apartments are fully funded. (Of course, *The Olympian* didn't bother to ask Steve Hall why this hasn't been done if this is such a big "concern".)

Well, now the story is that the city wants to know what "full funding" means! We ask: Can the city recommend that the county refuse the $450,000 that the county is holding at bay for purely political reasons? (They want to do just that!) Can the city recommend that LIHI not get the needed tax credits if LIHI doesn't give back the Federal Building? (That is what they are doing!) *How can the city demand that LIHI define what 'full funding' means when they are doing everything in their power to ensure that the Fleetwood is not fully funded?*

Has the county ever turned away funds on a project like this? NO! Has the City ever refused to give a CHAS letter before? No! How many developers do they try to derail? **NONE!**

Let us remind you all that **LIHI's Fleetwood project beat out 50 other projects in our state with its proposal for CDBG funds**. The county commissioners tell us that they are waiting to hear what the city recommends after the dispute resolution process. Why do they want to let the funding for this project go? The $450,000 should have been accepted in good faith just like funding for any other worthy project that won county and state approval. Instead, the city asked for and set up a "dispute resolution process" to resolve the contention about this project between local business owners, the city, and LIHI.

The dispute "non-resolution" process

Sounds fair on the surface, doesn't it? Well, the city also planned to hand pick all the players at this dispute resolution table. Local supporters and advocates found out that they were not to be included in this resolution process at all. It looked more like a set up for opponents of the Fleetwood to browbeat and squeeze LIHI off the edge of the horizon. They would be getting rid of LIHI, an organization with a successful track record, providing a small but real number of living units for real people.

Why no representation from local folks who had been working so hard to get affordable housing for the homeless? Why were no business **supporters** of this project invited by the city to sit at this table? We called the Dispute Resolution Center and asked to be represented at this table, and perhaps much to Mayor Bob Jacobs' surprise local supporters were allowed at the table. How do you resolve a dispute without considering all sides?

So if the city and those businesses still opposing the Fleetwood project cannot force LIHI out in a private "dispute resolution process" at a closed table, then they will drop the process and look for other ways to put an end to LIHI working for the homeless and affordable housing in Olympia.

Maybe if we had gotten some results, or even some genuine interest locally, without needing LIHI, or could have looked to a more equitable housing future in Olympia and Thurston County, we would feel like thanking LIHI for the last couple of years' hard work, and could look to some able local agency to take over the job. That is not the case here in Olympia!!

So what does the city really want?

The Mayor wants a guarantee that the self managed project at the Fleetwood will have no problems whatsoever. Well, *we* would like a guarantee that local people will not have to continue to live out of doors , young women will not have to sleep with anyone willing to take them in for the night, and battered women will not have to return to their abusers for them and their children to be under a roof. We would like a guarantee that the working poor will be able to rent housing without having to pay fifty to eighty percent of their income for the privilege. We would like a guarantee that people will not continue to be expendable through economic means and political pressure.

We would like a guarantee that those who can use up the finite resources because they have the political and economic means to do so, will not do so. I can assure everyone that the homeless and working poor do not gobble up the enormous amount of resources that our more affluent brothers and sisters do. They just want to have a small slice of the pie so that they may live. They do not want to live in a ghetto anymore than you do. ◆

Book Review

In The Absence of the Sacred

Dave Zink

In the Absence of the Sacred: The Failure of Technology and the Survival of the Indian Nations by Jerry Mander. Sierra Club Books, 1991.

Corporation, n. An ingenious device for obtaining individual profit without individual responsibility. Ambrose Bierce

A major theme of this book is how the Corporate system seeks to exploit nature in non-sustainable ways and to dominate and destroy traditional cultures in the Americas and around the world. In doing so it is creating a world which is badly out of balance.

Some books gain relevance with age. This is one of those. The reader will greatly increase her understanding of some complex issues. You can open this book to any page and gain insight into today's culture.

Thanks to the way it's been covered in the popular media, to most non-natives the struggle for survival of the indigenous peoples of this continent is "old news". It's over. History, right? **Wrong!** That's the principal myth that Mander blows the lid off of in this book. The first nations of the Americas are not quaint relics. Many remain as the bearers of wisdom that, if we can learn to listen, can yet save and renew us. The struggle continues.

The author's background is in advertising, and that's one area he really sheds light upon. Why is it that about 75% of commercial network TV is paid for by the 100 largest corporations in the country? Out of millions of people, only 100 corporations get to decide what will appear on TV, and what will not. Corporate influence over public broadcasting is increasing as well, now that federal support is drying up. Why only the largest corporations in the world dominate the airwaves is simple: they're the only ones who can afford it! This domination determines what viewpoints most people are exposed to (usually nothing left of center). The average American watches 5 hours of TV per day(!), and sees approximately 21,000 commercials per year - this is a literal barrage. All advertising carries the same basic message: true happiness comes from the acquisition of commodities. Mander was president of the prestigious Freeman, Mander, and Gossage advertising agency until his experiences led him to quit in order to devote himself to public interest campaigns. At the time this book was published, he was director of the Berkeley ecological think tank, the Elmwood institute.

"The failure to understand the nature of corporate structure has left our society far too unconscious and passive to corporate desires. It has helped this elite increase their influence, power, and freedom from accountability."

Mander claims that a single international technical-economic web has come into existence. The key components are computers, TV, satellites, banking, space technology, genetics, and robotics. Taken together, he terms this network "Megatechnology". This network **could** make a qualitative improvement in our lives if we were the masters of it. The problem is that the corporations set the terms and define the parameters of our understanding. It is a de facto dictatorship of the corporate elite, and the bottom line is corporate profit.

The failure to understand the nature of corporate structure has left our society far too unconscious and passive to corporate desires. It has helped this elite increase their influence, power, and freedom from accountability. Corporations already influence our notions of how life should be lived more than any other institution. Corporate ideology, priorities, styles of behavior, value systems, and modes of organization have come to define the American way of life, to be defended and extended at all costs, even militarily.

There is something in the very nature of the beast known as the Corporation that makes it behave in predictable ways. Mander describes what he calls the *"Eleven Inherent Rules of Corporate Behavior"*. As you read through the following, think of your "favorite" corporations and how they reflect these drives.

1. **The Profit imperative.** Profit is the ultimate measure of all corporate decisions. It takes precedence over community well-being, worker health, public health, peace, environment, or national security. Corporations will even find ways of trading–including selling weaponry–with national "enemies" if a profit is to be made. The profit imperative and the growth imperative are the most fundamental corporate drives: together they represent the corporation's instinct to "live".

2. **The Growth Imperative.** If a corporation cannot grow, it will die. This imperative fuels the drive to find and exploit scarce resources in every last corner of the earth. This effect is clearly visible as the world's few remaining pristine places, and their indigenous peoples, are sacrificed and despoiled for corporate production.

3. **Competition and Aggression.** Every person in a corporation is in fierce competition. This applies to gaining an edge over another company, or over a colleague within the company. As an employee, you are expected to be part of the "team"–you must aggressively push to beat other companies–but you must also be ready to step on or climb over your own colleagues. Cynicism is born out of the idealism of youth being bashed against the rocks of corporate reality. Non-aggressive behavior is seen as weakness. Our society has been conned into accepting the idea that this cut-throat competitiveness somehow benefits society. In reality, it is ruining it. Corporate philosophy is the enemy of human solidarity.

4. **Amorality.** Corporate executives praise "non-emotionality" as a basis for making "objective" decisions. Lately there have been efforts by industry to appear concerned with social issues and the environment. There have been slick public relations campaigns known as "green-washing", and self-serving "educational" materials are provided to schools. Weyerhaeuser calls itself the "tree-planting people", as if tree farms were healthy forests. In communities where citizens have been outraged by corporate irresponsibility, companies will run ads about how they are helping the community, or how happy their workers are to have jobs. The sad thing is that these campaigns often work!

All corporate acts are in service to profit, apparent altruism is measured in terms of public relations points. If the benefits do not accrue, the altruistic pose is dropped. When Exxon realized that its cleanup of the Alaskan shores was not easing the public rage about the oil spill, it simply dropped all pretense of altruism and terminated the cleanup operation.

5. **Hierarchy.** The efficiency of the pyramidal structure, which makes an artificial pecking order seem natural, is rarely questioned. Effective non-hierarchical modes of organization exist on the planet, and have been successful for millennia, but most Americans know little or nothing about them.

6. **Quantification, Linearity, and Segmentation.** Corporations require that subjective information be translated into objective form, i.e., numbers. Subjective or spiritual aspects can't be translated in this way, and so do not enter corporate equations. Forests are evaluated only as "board feet". Pollution, toxic waste, carcinogens, are translated into cost-benefit ratios or "trade-offs". Statisticians working for auto manufacturers calculate the number of probable accidents and deaths at each production standard level, and compare it with the cost of insurance and lawsuits from dead and injured drivers' families. A number is assigned to the public relations problem, and a balance is sought. The operative corporate standard is not "as safe as humanly possible", but rather "as safe as possible–commensurate with maintaining acceptable profit".

When corporations are asked to clean up their act, they protest about how industry is being hobbled, and lobby to relax the standard. Or they pump megabucks into campaigns to con voters into electing politicians that will act against the public interest and in the corporate interest. That's what the "Contract with America" is all about.

On the production end, great effort is made, through time–and motion studies, to measure each fragment of every process performed by a worker. The eventual goal is to sufficiently segment tasks so they can be automated, eliminating workers altogether. When the task is not eliminated, it is reduced to its simplest repetitive form. The result is intense competition with other workers, repetitive, boring tasks, and alienation.

7. **Dehumanization.** Corporations make a conscious effort to depersonalize. Introduction of computer surveillance technology into business operations, especially in measuring and supervising the performance of office workers, has made this dehumanization process simpler and more thorough. In the majority of corporations, employees are viewed as cogs in the wheel, replaceable by others, or by machines. The manager's objectification of decisions and people tends to dehumanize himself.

8. **Exploitation.** This is a commonly misunderstood concept, but isn't really that difficult. Profit equals the economic value that an employee produces minus the amount paid to that employee, and/or the difference between the ultimate sales price of a commodity minus the amount paid for the resources used in production. Workers produce much more than the value of the wages they receive: this is the source of all profit. Corporate heads are very conscious of this, so its easy to understand why so much effort goes into mystifying and hiding this basic law. In rare cases where workers are highly paid, as with professional athletes and entertainers, corporations pay the high salaries for only one reason: because the workers will produce more income for the corporation than they are paid.

9. **Ephemerality.** Corporations exist beyond time and space. They are legal, not natural, creations. They do not die a natural death; but outlive their creators. They have no commitment to locale, employees, or neighbors. This makes the modern corporation entirely different from the traditional neighborhood baker or grocer. Having no commitment to place, a corporation will relocate any or all

(Continued next page)

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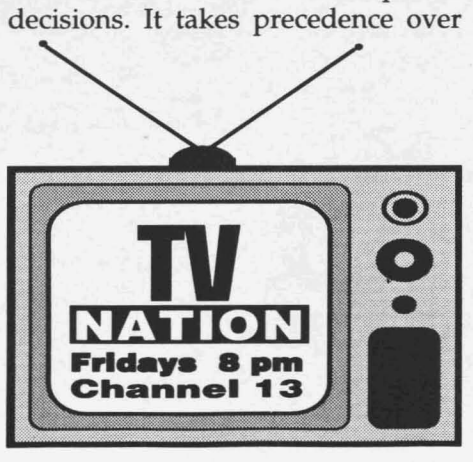

of its operations at the first sign of inconvenience: demanding employees, too high taxes, restrictive environmental laws, whatever. NAFTA and GATT encourage corporate mobility. The traditional ideal of uplifting community involvement is antithetical to corporate behavior.

10. **Opposition to nature.** Although individuals who work for corporations may love nature, corporations themselves are intrinsically committed to intervening in, altering, and transforming nature. After natural resources are exhausted in one part of the world, the corporation moves on. How long before even Antarctica is threatened?

The transformation of nature occurs to some extent in all societies where manufacturing takes place. But in capitalist, corporate societies, the process is accelerated because corporations *must grow*. The pace of resource extraction and processing is ever-quickening. Consumption is also accelerated. Corporations have an intrinsic interest in convincing people that commodities bring satisfaction. Modes of fulfillment based on finding contentment in nature and relationships, and a lack of desire to acquire wealth or "toys" are subversive to corporate goals. For production to be increased, consumption must be increased. The net effect is the ravaging of nature.

Banks finance the conversion of nature. The more nature is exploited, the greater the profit for all corporations. How long can this continue on a finite planet?

11. **Homogenization.** Corporations have a stake in all of us living our lives in a similar manner. They share an identical economic, cultural, and social vision and seek to accelerate society's (and individuals') acceptance of that vision. The nuclear family has corporate marketing ideals. Each buys its own set of appliances, washing machines, cars, TV, etc. Each family duplicates the consumption patterns of every other family on the block. The singles phenomenon has proven even more profitable to the corporations than the nuclear family, since each *person* duplicates the consumption patterns of every other person.

Lifestyles and economic systems that emphasize *sharing* appliances, cars, and work, or that celebrate non-material values where following the latest fashion is not important, are "not good for business". The very idea of people developing true individuality and living in co-operatives is outrageous to corporate commodity society.

Traditional tribal societies, which celebrate non-material relationships to life, the earth, and the spirit, and which are at opposite poles to corporate ideology, are regarded as inferior and unenlightened. To the degree these societies continue to exist, they represent a threat to the homogenization of world markets and culture. All they might want is to be left alone, but corporate society works hard to bring them into "the system". They are taught attitudes and values appropriate to corporate goals. Most of this activity is funded by the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, and similar agencies which serve multinational corporations. The ultimate goal? One world of homogeneous workers, buying Coke, Colgate, Nabisco, Marlboro, and other commodities.

"We must abandon the idea that corporations can reform themselves, or that a new generation of executive managers can be re-educated...To ask corporate executives to behave morally is absurd. Corporations, and the people within them, are not subject to moral behavior. They are following a system of logic that leads inexorably toward certain behaviors. To ask corporations to behave otherwise is like asking an army to adopt pacifism."

The Corporation is the defining institution of the most vicious and treacherous social-economic system ever devised: Capitalism. When capital encounters socialism, its reaction is to *annihilate* it by whatever means necessary. The campaign against the Native Americans by corporate society was **Genocide**–the worst in recorded history. When nascent Euro-American capitalism encountered the two American continents, populated by people who had a radically different social-economic philosophy, based upon a steady-state tribal-communal way of life, it set these two diametrically opposed systems on a collision course.

The ruling class would love to have you believe that today's capitalism is somehow more kind and nice. It isn't. (At this point, you might say: "Now, just wait a minute, Zink! Certainly Fascism was much worse than Capitalism. Six million Jews were murdered in central Europe! In an upcoming article, I'll try to explain the relationships between imperialism, capitalism, and fascism and make the case that the latter system is not unique, but rather a *phase* of capitalism.)

There is much, much more to this book than we have room to go into here. There is a wealth of interesting material on Native American culture and its struggle for survival. This is an engaging read that will greatly increase your understanding of our world and your place in it. Its available through the Timberline library system - check it out!

For those within range of KAOS-radio, I would also recommend Tiokasin Veaux' weekly program on Native American news and views, "Exposing the Apologetic Predator" - a very enlightening show: tune in 89.3 FM at 12:00 - 2:30 each Wednesday. ◆

Rescissions: The How to Hurt Everyone in the Name of Balanced a Budget Bill

Katherine McCarthy-MacRae

Public Law 104-19: Emergency Supplemental Appropriations for additional disaster assistance, for anti-terrorism initiatives, for assistance in the recovery from the tragedy that occurred at Oklahoma City, and rescissions act, 1995. Real impressive sounding label those crafty politicians have come up with. Let's help the poor people in Oklahoma. Well, let's see how they helped the poor people in Oklahoma and else where in the country.

Some of the good stuff is $66,800,000 that can be spent to rebuild, furnish and secure work space for those employed in the Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building. Another $3,200,000 for emergency expenses has also been allocated. $39,000,000 is for helping the persons and property owners in the area surrounding the bombing site. These are good decisions. These people need to be helped BUT what about the rest of the federal employees and the areas surrounding their work sites? How will they be protected? What will it cost?

It looks like one group of people are being cared for at the expense of others the way the bill is put together. Budget cuts are listed page after page. Wic, nutrition for children and pregnant women is gone. Services for the aged, disabled, sick and needy have been severely cut and the way the bill is structured it looks like a few are going to be securely housed in a state-of-the-art building while millions of others go without. Without food, housing, shelter, health care. This bill even cuts into our public land and how it is used. Public land means yours and mine.

It is time that we, the American public, takes a good hard look at Federal Government and how it is administrated. We have been told that it is cheaper for local governments to provide care for the mentally ill. The big state institutions were cut or closed and that is working. Why won't that work for the other branches of government? If we can care for some people successfully on the local level why can't we do equally as well in all other areas?

Despite miles of rhetoric in the press and hours, actually years of it in the audio/visual media we are still voting for getting bigger government, more expensive government, and consistently worse leadership. My question is when will we make it end?

I don't know the answers but I'm out here looking. I know that each of us can make a difference. Each person who lives in this country needs a decent standard of living. I find it appalling that our elected officials can target other countries about their treatment of their citizens when we don't do better for our own. We are a social democracy in some respects; we always have been. Capitalism is a fancy word for greed and in many respects we are a greed-driven country. Free enterprise is touted by self-interest groups wanting to take from someone else to get what they want. There is enough for everyone if we are willing to give a little and change a lot. ◆

"I find it appalling that our elected officials can target other countries about their treatment of their citizens when we don't do better for our own."

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Book Reviews

How to Deconstruct Rush Limbaugh in Two Easy (and fun) Lessons

Greg Hohnholt

The Way Things Aren't: Rush Limbaugh's Reign of Error by Steven Rendall et. al., New Press 1995, $6.95.

The Great Limbaugh Con and other right-wing assaults on common sense by Charles M. Kelly, Fithian Press 1994, $14.95.

Riddle: What's the difference between the sun and Rush Limbaugh? Answer: One is a hot ball of gas in outer space, and the other is a star that the Earth orbits around.

You've probably heard or read similar jokes about America's most ubiquitous "political errorist" and arch demagogue, Rush Limbaugh, but be honest. Have you ever really listened to his radio show or watched his syndicated TV program? More importantly, do you think you could win an argument with a dittohead (the oddly apt moniker applied to Rush's faithful fans, some of whom plug in for 17 and a half hours a week)?

When my younger brother Kurt starting cheerleading for Rush about a year ago, I began asking myself these questions. Our shouting matches over the phone made it obvious to me that I wasn't being very persuasive. Humbled, I decided I'd better register for Limbaugh 101.

Last October, I started listening to his radio program as much as my job would permit (I simply couldn't stomach Limbaugh's fatuous dittohead audience on TV). "Know the enemy" was my watchword. By spring, however, I hadn't made much progress. I could handle deconstructing Limbaugh's blatant distortions of current events, but I still felt far from able to convince Kurt what a liar and GOP propagandist Rush was.

My confusion shouldn't have surprised me. Rush wasn't acting alone. Earlier this year, Republicans had quietly consolidated the means to shift public opinion, with Limbaugh's unprecedented multi-media saturation as its linchpin. Empower America and the Heritage Foundation, two big GOP propaganda mills, not to mention Newt himself, were sending faxes 'round the clock to Rush to keep up the high profile conservative spin. Dittoheads started to pop up regularly on C-SPAN's morning call-in show, *Washington Journal*. (It was eerie to hear Rush's hogwash played back via delayed electronic proxy, just like clockwork.) By the time summer rolled around, I decided I needed help.

Enter FAIR and Charles Kelly

After doing some checking, I discovered that FAIR (Fairness and Accuracy In Broadcasting, a media watch-dog group) had published an eight page rebuttal to an assortment of 43 Limbaughisms in the June 94 issue of *Extra!* , FAIR's magazine of media criticism. After an overwhelming public response, FAIR compiled a book version with additional material, *The Way Things Aren't*. Another book, *The Great Limbaugh Con*, a more scholarly deconstruction of Limbaugh's fallacies (and conservative economic policy in general) by industrial communications specialist Charles M. Kelly, soon followed.

The Way Things Aren't is only necessary if you aren't facile with Limbaugh's shtick. It's a great little bathroom book you can read painlessly (well, almost painlessly anyway), and it may save you the frustration of having to pound your fist on your dashboard and screaming at your car radio as I did so many times last winter. FAIR's comebacks are right along side Rush's bullshit, so there's instant relief. The quotes are divided in easy-to-digest sections interspliced with Rush's history and brief editorials that will (hopefully) convince you of the danger that the Limbaugh tidal wave brings in its relatively unchallenged wake.

FAIR, however, could've... well, been *fairer* in one respect. On October 11, 1994, Rush submitted a 37 page response to some of the charges FAIR made in its original *Extra!* report. *The Way Things Aren't* fails to print Limbaugh's reply verbatim; instead, it paraphrases little bits and dispenses his rebuttals rather handily near the end of the book. This was probably done out of budget considerations, but as a "media watch group" which seeks to "invigorate the First Amendment," I think FAIR should have held itself to a higher standard and printed Limbaugh's full reply with their unedited rebuttal. (To FAIR's credit, however, you can receive the *Extra!* report, Limbaugh's uncut reply, and FAIR's rebuttal free through the Internet. Just pop an e-mail to < fairinfo@fair.org >) Despite this shortcoming, *The Way Things Aren't* is a welcome counter-thrust to an all-too-trusted snake oil salesman.

For the serious Limbaugh scholar...

Kelly's book, *The Great Limbaugh Con* is different. It doesn't have snazzy graphics, circular text, or toe-to-toe rebuttals like FAIR's book—but what it *does* have is a biting, merciless, lucid 207 page shredding of Limbaugh and conservative economic policies in general.

It's divided up into three graduated sections for sustained impact. The first dissects ten of Limbaugh's favorite soundbites, such as "Wealth trickles down,", or "Government regulations equal communism, or at least socialism." The second part puts Limbaugh's rantings and mythologies in context, by exploring the roots of liberal and conservative philosophies. The third part displays a case study of this conservative philosophical context being applied in real life; in Spartanburg, South Carolina, and scrutinizes its short term successes and eventual decline.

In his introduction, Kelly presents the thesis of his argument this way:

"The Limbaugh Con is, at its heart, a scam against workers. Under the pretext of fighting for their rights, he supports an economic agenda that is designed to benefit the wealthy and the politically powerful—at the expense of low- and middle-income Americans."

"Do you think you could win an argument with a "ditto head"? These books can make you a formidable opponent."

In essence, rebutting Limbaugh in this broader context allows Kelly to do something that the FAIR book can't: *teach* you how to debate conservatives on a moral playing field, the one that Limbaugh has flim-flammed his dittoheads into believing is rooted in conservative values (i.e. especially *economic* values).

Kelly and his editors deserve kudos for thinking this format through to reach its intended audience—working class folks who have been seduced to the Limbaugh bandwagon without thinking too clearly, but may be willing to listen to a dissenting opinion some time; if not now, perhaps soon. Accordingly, Kelly's prose is eminently readable, although consistently smart and thorough. His tone is inviting; he encourages you to make discoveries on your own while untangling Rush's oh-so-calculated self-parodying logic; you can reasonably expect to experience several "ah-ha" epiphanies (at least if you've never bothered to figure out Rush's conceptual *modus operandi*). And all the while, he manages to balance lucidity with real substance—*The Great Limbaugh Con* holds up well to several readings. It's obvious Kelly has learned something from his many years as a Fortune 500 company seminar leader and communications educator. Now, if only someone would give him a radio show...

Taken together, *The Way Things Aren't* and *The Great Limbaugh Con* pull back the curtain that the Wizard of Blab hides behind. Both can stand alone on their own merits, but work better in a Chomskyean-like tandem (FAIR—surface, Kelly—depth). But if you can only buy one, get Kelly's book and bug somebody with Internet access to supply you with the free FAIR package. YOU *WILL* NEED THIS INFORMATION.

Then call up that dittohead you know and let 'em have it. ◆

Hush Rush

Boycott Pizza Hut

WIP News Service

The Olympia Movement for Justice and Peace organized a successful picket of local Pizza Huts to protest their choice of Rush Limbaugh as their spokesperson. You can call and write your local Pizza Huts to let the manager know your position and thoughts. You can also send all your receipts from other pizza places directly to the corporate headquarters, telling them that this is the business they could have had if they weren't using Rush as a spokesperson.

Pizza Hut Consumer Affairs
9100 E. Douglas
Wichita, Kansas 67201
1-800-948-8488

OMJP is planning to picket other advertisers on the Rush Limbaugh Show. For a list of National Advertisers on the Rush Limbaugh Radio and TV Show and to become involved call OMJP at 705-2726 or send a SASE to PO Box 295, Olympia, WA 98507.

• Snapple has already agreed to stop subsidizing Limbaugh's programs. Quoting from a letter from the Consumer Affairs department of the Snapple Beverage Corp. to Janice McDavit, the original boycott organizer, "In response to your inquiry, we would like to take this opportunity to inform you that as of January 1, 1995, Snapple is no longer advertising on the Rush Limbaugh Show."

• A one-week boycott of FLORIDA CITRUS PRODUCTS was called on March 12, 1994, in response to the citrus commissions decision to sponsor Rush Limbaugh's nationally broadcast radio talk show. The boycott, called by Gay & Lesbian Americans, a coalition of Queer and AIDS rights groups from throughout the U.S., was called because of Limbaugh's outspoken opposition to Queer rights. The boycott ended on March 19, 1994 with the victorious withdrawal of FLORIDA CITRUS PRODUCTS' advertising on the Rush Limbaugh Show. ◆

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(Continued from page one.)

form for discovery of evidence and checked the box for "police dispatch records pertaining to the alleged offense". [Note: The city prosecutor will insist during pretrial that the defense never made "a clearly and concisely written demand" for police dispatch records. Also note: Police dispatch tapes are erased and recycled every ninety days.]

Olympia City Prosecutor Creighton does not act in a prompt manner to fulfill the request for a complete set of police dispatch records pertaining to Mr. Dean's arrest. On July 13, at the verbal request of Dean's attorney, the prosecutor finally submits a request to the Thurston County Department of Communication (CAPCOM) and the request is immediately processed. Upon receipt of this tape, Dean and his attorney, Joan Flowerbird, discover it contains only the 911 call, not the entire radio dispatch record of the incident.

On August 4, 1994, five days before the dispatch tapes are scheduled to be erased and almost three months after Dean's original request, Creighton replies to Judge Mark Chow's question as to why he has not provided the complete set of police dispatch tapes to the defense, "I was under the mistaken impression, I guess, that Mr. Dean did not want the copy of the tape recording of the officer conversation." He goes on to say he will immediately request a tape copy from CAPCOM.

Friday, the next day, Creighton fills out a request for "dispatch and all radio traffic relative" to a burglary at Ms. Martin's residence, the tape to run until the officer clears the scene. In the box that asks the reason for the request, he does not check "evidence" or "court" as he did in his July request. Instead, he makes a mark in front of "Complaint against field unit" and an exclamation mark is added on the other end. Why Mr. Creighton would do this is not clear. Mr. Dean would not file a complaint against Officer Doughty for another five to six months.

His unusual actions do not end there. The police dispatch tape, containing police radio conversation related to this case, is scheduled to be erased the following Tuesday evening. CAPCOM immediately fills Mr. Creighton's request on that Friday. It is reasonable to assume that Creighton would receive this tape copy by Monday morning at the latest. Mr. Creighton does not deliver this tape evidence with reasonable speed. He waits two days to deliver the tape to the defense on Wednesday morning, the day after the original dispatch tape is erased.

The copy of the police radio dispatch call contains ***only*** the dispatch records during Officer Doughty's presence at Angela Martin's resident. It ***does not*** contain calls after Doughty leaves for Dean's apartment and therefore the tape ***does not*** provide all "radio traffic" pertaining to the Dean case.

On the tape, a comment is made by Officer Doughty about Mr. Dean's alleged mental state, "She doesn't believe he has any fire arms, but he is talking of killing himself." Towards the end of Doughty's time at Angela Martin's home, he has a few short conversations with the dispatch operator.

Doughty: *The party on this side says the suspect has a gun to his head, just for your information...is anyone heading there now?*

Dispatch: *I'm working on it.*

Doughty: *Make it a priority, he has a gun on (sic) his head.*

Dispatch: *Does she know of any weapons he may possess...?*

Doughty: *"Unable to contact, communicate with her right now because she's got him on the phone."*

Doughty's last comments taped before leaving Angela Martin's residence:

Doughty: *"He still has it to his head."*

Dispatch: *"Do we know what type of a fire arm?*

Doughty: *"Haven't been able to come up with that, no."*

The paper printouts of the same tape, provided by CAPCOM, contradict the dispatch tape received from Creighton. The printout, while it doesn't provide the conversation, does state that the subject [Dean] was "suicidal", *and* had a *"semi auto* in his hand" that he was "threatening to use." How did CAPCOM determine that Dean had a "semi auto"?

On October 19, 1994, Dean's attorney, Joan Flowerbird, makes a motion to dismiss the defendant's case. She states in the affidavit that "not all the dispatch records for the day in question were received and are now unavailable as the tapes have been erased. The defendant has not had the opportunity to hear the complete computer dispatch record, and there is no way to determine whether any exculpatory evidence existed...".

On October 26, Prosecuting Attorney Creighton replies to Flowerbird's motion to dismiss. He admits that the defense made a request for discovery that included "'police dispatch records pertaining to the alleged incident [and] periodic oral requests for audio tapes of the incident". He complains that "the requests were not specific as to what portions of the incident they were seeking". [Creighton's CAPCOM tape reproduction request of July 13 contradicts this claimed lack of awareness.]

Creighton states that the paper printouts provided Ms. Flowerbird August 19 by Mr. Quackenbush of CAPCOM "were exactly what was demanded by the defendant." [The difference between a printout and a tape copy of the police dispatch records is considerable. The printout contains a minimum of information: names, charges, physical description of suspect, times of police radio conversations, who spoke when. It does not contain the actual conversations. The tapes do.]

Though Judge Mark Chow on August 4th told Creighton to provide the defense with the requested police dispatch records, Creighton in his brief claims that law (Rule 4.7 (a)) does not provide that "prosecutors are required to produce 'dispatch records.'" He state further, if the defendant "was dissatisfied with the discovery as provided, he could have at any time sought relief under Rule 4.7(e). "The City cannot now be blamed for the defendant's failure to submit a clearly and concisely written demand or for not timely seeking relief."

Lastly, Mr. Creighton writes that "even though the material sought by the defendant is no longer available as a result of having been routinely destroyed, the defendant has not demonstrated the evidence is material beyond a 'mere possibility that an item of underclosed (sic) evidence might have helped the defense, or might have affected the outcome of the trial.'" He continued that Mr. Dean "can attempt to elicit that information on cross examination of the police officers or through his own testimony if he chooses to take the stand."

Flowerbird's motion to dismiss is denied by Judge Bret Buckley. She attempts to make this motion again on January 3, 1995. It is a failed effort.

Act III Lt. Bjornstad

January 12, Mark Erickson, the City Attorney, sends a memorandum to Chief John Wurner of the OPD, informing him of the complaint by Kenneth Dean "regarding the manner in which a police officer handled property he claims to be his." Erickson suggests that the matter be referred to the OPD's "internal investigation process so that the matter can be looked into."

The following day, OPD Commander Steve Nelson writes a memo to Officer Doughty informing him that Lt. Tor Bjornstad has been assigned to investigate Dean's complaint.

Lt. Bjornstad interviews Ms. Martin on January 17th "at her apartment." He writes in his March report that "she was very evasive and recanted nearly everything she reported in May of 1994.

"We've got a lie detector and high-powered attorneys to protect our officers." I said to him, "Why would you want to protect an officer that lies?"

Ms. Martin stated that she was upset by a verbal argument she and Mr. Dean had that day...She told me that she never told Officer Doughty that Mr. Dean was threatening suicide. Ms. Martin said that she told Officer Doughty that the property missing from her apartment had been purchased by Mr. Dean originally."

Emma: *Bjornstad of the OPD interviewed you?*

Angela: *Yes, it was intimidating. He kept talking about Tumwater and what happened there. I felt he was trying to get me to go back to the 911 story and I wasn't going to do it. Towards the end he said, "We've got a lie detector and high-powered attorneys to protect our officers." I said to him, "Why would you want to protect an officer that lies?" He replied, "We'll see who is lying." He asked me if I would take a lie detector test and I said, "Yes, I would."*

Emma: *Did he arrange for you to take a lie detector test?*

Angela: *No, he did not.*

Emma: *When Officer Doughty brought the items from Ken Dean's apartment, did he bring anything is addition to the VCR, microwave, and radio to your residence that night?*

Angela: *He brought a television set, an old beat up television set. I asked him, "What is that doing here? I didn't say anything about a television set." Doughty then told me that Kenny could go through the proper channels to get it back. Later, I would think that it was odd that Ken would have a T.V. like that. He doesn't like things that look trashy. And months later, when I told him he could take the T.V. if he wanted, he went up stairs, looked at it and said that it wasn't his.*

Emma: *Did Lt. Bjornstad ask you about the television set that Ken Dean claimed was taken by Doughty?*

Angela: *Not directly. He asked me what Doughty had brought back, and I told him, "a microwave, a VCR, a radio and a television set."*

On January 19, Attorney Flowerbird writes a letter to her client:

Dear Ken,

This letter is a follow-up to the conversation we had on the telephone Tuesday, January 17.1995. As I expressed when we spoke, I really feel that it would have been in your best interest to accept the prosecutor's offer that I proposed to you which was to dismiss your case if you would hold the prosecuting attorney's office harmless from any possible civil proceedings. This would have allowed you to pursue your civil case against the police officer, and I feel that your dismissal would have definitely strengthened your case. It might have inferred that maybe the officer did do something wrong if the case had been dismissed.

As you know, anytime a case goes to trial, there is never any guarantee how the jury may decide the case. If by chance the jury decides you are guilty, then it may cloud the issues for your civil suit. Therefore, even though I feel you have a chance at trial, I did feel that it would have been in your best interest to accept the prosecutor's offer.

On the same day Ken Dean "strongly requests a different attorney." His request is granted and the following day attorney Jay Allan Goldstein, who primarily deals in real estate law, is appointed.

January 25, Lt. Bjornstad interviews one of Ken Dean's roommates, John Fortin. Bjornstad states in his March report, "the focus of my interview was to determine if Mr. Fortin had given Officer doughty permission to enter Mr. Dean's apartment." "Fortin did not witness a conversation between Mr. Dean and Officer Doughty. He and Dean's other roommate, returned to the apartment. Several minutes later Officer Doughty knocked on the door. Mr. Fortin told him he had no knowledge of a gun ever being in the apartment. He recalls that Officer Doughty said something to the effect of 'I'm coming in' and he felt intimidated by his presents (sic) and the fact he was armed. He escorted Officer Doughty to Mr. Dean's bedroom and showed him the property in question. He could not recall whether or not the door was open. He then helped Officer Doughty carry the items to his patrol car."

In the latter part of February, John Fortin writes a letter to Chief Wurner regarding the January 25th interview with Lt. Bjornstad. He states, "my experience with your department during the investigation [of misconduct by Officer Doughty] raises concerns about the manner in which such investigations are being conducted."

"During the incident being investigated Officer Doughty entered my apartment under pretense of having arrested my roommate [Dean] for burglary and seized the purportedly stolen property..."

"When I was interviewed by Lt. Bjornstad, he repeatedly asked me questions that presupposed events and conversations that I don't recall and don't believe happened. I told him I didn't understand his questions or remember the events he described."

"I believe I also made it clear to him [Bjornstad] that the victim [Dean] barely spoke to Officer Doughty, that Officer Doughty said he was going in, and that I didn't give him permission to go into the apartment."

That evening, according to Olympia City Council minutes, "Mr. Ken Dean spoke to the Council about the conduct of the Olympia Police Department and its attitude toward people of color. He stated the investigation about his complaints has not yet been completed and he was concerned about the

(Continued on back page.)

(O.P.D., continued from page 15.)
nature of the investigation."

"Mr. Erickson, the City Attorney, stated the investigation is still underway and staff will report to the Council on this as well as a yearly update on the police internal process very shortly. He stated there is an internal investigation underway being conducted by the Olympia Police Department with oversight by the Legal Department per our policy."

On March 1st Officer Bjornstad completes his investigation of the citizen complaint by Kenneth Dean. He concludes that Doughty's actions were proper and he was negligent only in his documentation of the items he removed from Ken Dean's apartment on the night of May 9, 1994. "He should also have been clearer in his description of the circumstances surrounding the return of the property."

Bjornstad writes he "was unable to positively determine whether or not Doughty was granted permission to enter the apartment." He also concluded that Officer Doughty had good reason to believe the property in question was stolen from Ms. Martin." He went on to state that "it is not unusual for officers to facilitate the return of property to rightful owners, even when charges are not files."

Regarding the suicide issue, Bjornstad stated that" Mr. Dean denies that he threatened suicide over the phone, but Bjornstad said he could "see no reason for Officer Doughty to have made up the suicide threat." Threatening suicide "is not a criminal offense and in no way expedited Mr. Dean's capture." Even though Doughty claimed Dean had threatened suicide and "was very upset," "not following through with a mental health evaluation under these circumstances is not unusual." "No weapon was present" and "Mr. Dean told the officer he really didn't mean it."

Bjornstad claims "nobody seems to remember the television specifically" and he could "find no evidence of Officer Doughty being less than honest in his reports."

March 13, Dean's attorney, Jay Allan Goldstein, is removed and Catherine M. Anderson is added. On March 20, something happens to Catherine Anderson and she is withdrawn. Joseph Woodland is appointed as Mr. Dean's attorney, his second new attorney in a week.

Act IV Chief Wurner

Chief Wurner writes to Fred Doughty:

"My review of the complaint by Mr. Dean, the accompanying documentation and the results of the subsequent investigation and recommendations by your supervisor lead me to the conclusion that the complaint is unfounded.

I feel that you had reason to believe the items reported stolen by Ms. Martin and her subsequent referral for prosecution allowed you to return these items to her.

Your documentation of property seized from one location and the return of these items to their rightful owner could have been better handled and your supervisors have been instructed to provide you with training in this area.

I encourage community oriented policing and problem solving in our department and I believe you had these in mind when you handled this case in the way you did."

March 31, the City of Olympia's case against Ken Dean collapses and the prosecution is no longer able to continue. The charge is dropped and the case is dismissed.

Olympian article (July 1, 1995) states the "police say Dean was never wronged because all items belonging to him have been returned."

Epilogue

More than a year later, Ken Dean has not yet received the items that the OPD now says are his property. OPD persists in the fabrication that Ken Dean "got" everything back "shortly after the incident." According to Ms. Martin, all items brought to her house by Officer Doughty are still there, including the television. In fact, she thinks that Officer Doughty's fingerprints might still be on the underside of the T.V..

Along with Dean, truth is a victim here. Doughty determined that Dean's property belonged to Martin. Creighton decided that Dean didn't ask for the complete police dispatch records. Bjornstad concluded that Doughty acted honorably. *And* Wurner removed himself so far from the investigation as to appear blameless.

If justice is going to come out of all of this, changes are going to have to be made. A new attitude must be forth coming from city attorneys, prosecutors, public defenders, and the police department. They must stop acting on prejudice and start having a more open mind to bring about truth. Finally, when and where appropriate discipline is required, citizens need to be able to trust that investigations are more than perfunctory. Intradepartmental reviews fail to be impartial or effective. State review panels would by far provide better oversight of local judicial systems and police departments.

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